DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 235 678 FL 013 969

AUTHOR	Elias-Olivares, Lucia, Ed.
TITLE	Spanish in the U.S. Setting: Beyond the Southwest.
INSTITUTION	InterAmerica Research Associates, Rosslyn, Va.; National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, Arlington, Va.
SPONS AGENCY	National Inst. of Education (ED), Washington, DC.; Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (ED), Washington, DC.
REPORT NO	ISBN-0-89763-073-4
PUB DATE	83
CONTRACT	NIE-400-80-0040
NOTE	240p.; Papers presented at the Conference on "Spanish in the U.S. Setting: Beyond the Southwest" (Chicago, IL, October 10-11, 1980).
AVAILABLE FROM	National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education, 1555 Wilson Blvd., Rosslyn, VA 22209 ($14.00)
PUB TYPE	Books (010) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Code Switching (Language); *Hispanic Americans; Interference (Language); Language Maintenance; Language Planning; *Language Usage; *Language Variation; Sociolinguistics; *Spanish

ABSTRACT

The role and use of Spanish in the geographic areas outside of the U.S. Southwest are examined in a collection of 16 conference papers. The papers address the general topics of language contact, linguistic variation, sociolinguistic factors, and language maintenance policy, and planning. Among the specific issues discussed are: a dialectology of U.S. Spanish, subject-object reversals among New York Hispanics, interference and code switching in contemporary New York Judeo-Spanish, code shifting patterns in Chicano Spanish, Spanish-English bilingual children as peer teachers, bilingual competence, Spanish language resources in the United States, Mexican American language communities in Minnesota cities, and the Hispanic speech community of Washington, D.C. (RW)

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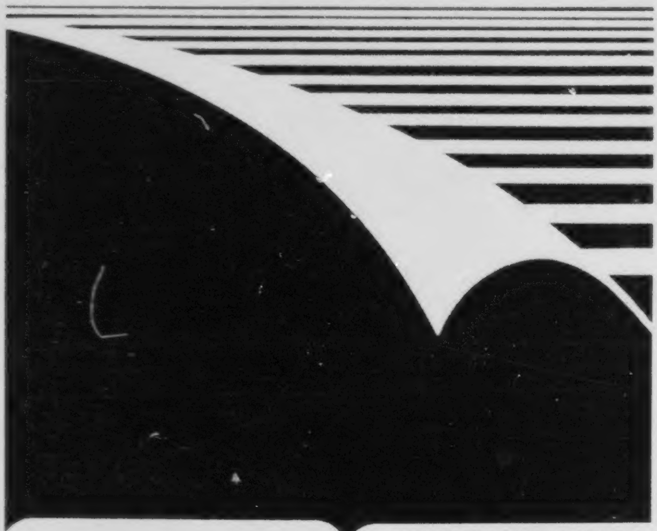
Spanish in the U.S. Setting

Beyond the Southwest

Edited by Lucía Elías-Olivares



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InterAmerica Research Associates, Inc. d/b/a
National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education
1555 Wilson Boulevard, Suite 605
Rosslyn, Virginia 22209
(703) 522-0710 / (800) 336-4560

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 83-60507

ISBN: 0-89763-073-4
First Printing 1983
Printed in USA

10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

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Preface

The Spanish language and the Hispanic population of the U.S. Southwest have received attention from researchers in linguistics and other social sciences, but the spread of Spanish along the Atlantic seaboard, in the Northeastern states, and throughout the Midwest has occurred so rapidly that studies dealing with Spanish and Spanish-English bilingualism in these areas lag far behind. The need for more complete and precise information regarding language variation, demographic trends, and attitudes in these communities is acutely felt not only within academic circles but also wherever bilingual education programs are implemented.

The need to learn about current research being carried on in these urban areas, and the desire to stimulate it, prompted a research conference on the topics of language contact, language variation, and language planning, with special emphasis on those bilingual communities outside the U.S. Southwest.

The conference on "Spanish in the U.S. Setting: Beyond the Southwest" was held at the University of Illinois at Chicago Circle during October 10–11, 1980. Sixteen of the papers delivered are contained in this volume. These include the presentations made at a panel on language planning in bilingual communities, and the papers contributed by two of the guest speakers: Jorge Guitart and Shana Poplack.

I want to express my appreciation to Audrey Kouvel and Jerry Rank of the Department of Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese for their aid in securing the financial support of the University of Illinois at Chicago, and to Flora Rodríguez-Brown and Lisa Baldonado, who were instrumental in obtaining special support from the College of Education. Without their assistance, I doubt that the conference could have taken place.

I also wish to express my sincere gratitude to my colleague David Nasjleti for his valuable assistance in planning the conference and in the early stages of this book. Finally, special thanks must be given to the publications staff of the National Clearinghouse for Bilingual Education for their careful editorial assistance and continuous support in the preparation of this volume.

Lucía Elías-Olivares

Introduction

Research on the Spanish spoken in the United States, on different aspects of bilingualism, and on bilingual education has been largely restricted to geographical areas of the Southwest, where most of the Spanish-speaking population traditionally has been located. Furthermore, research has generally emphasized the non-urban Mexican American communities.

In the last decade, however, large numbers of Spanish-speaking groups from not only Mexico and Puerto Rico but also every country in Central and South America have settled in areas outside the Southwest, particularly in large metropolitan centers of the Midwest. All of these newcomers will undoubtedly play an important role in the maintenance and development of United States Spanish, as will the media and the organizations whose aim is to foster the use of the Spanish language among Hispanics as well as to promote Spanish literacy.

The conference on "Spanish in the U.S. Setting: Beyond the Southwest" was thus organized to promote research in a more diversified area which only lately has begun to attract the interest of researchers. At twenty million people, the Spanish-speaking population is already the largest linguistic minority in the United States. Faced with further Hispanic population increases in the near future, public officials and U.S. communities at large have to be informed of alternative policy decisions and their possible social consequences. Basic research needs to be done in order to describe fully and accurately the characteristics, location, numbers, and demographic trends of Spanish-English bilingual groups, the present features and future prospects of the speech varieties they use, and the impact of current and future programs of bilingual bicultural education on these groups. Existing efforts in the directions suggested above—including the papers that constitute this volume—only point to the magnitude of the task that lies ahead.

The contributors to this volume represent a wide range of interests and academic fields. The areas covered in their articles suggest the thrust that sociolinguistic studies in bilingual communities will probably continue to take in the next few years. Furthermore, these research areas are also related to broader and more pervasive social issues that Hispanics face throughout the United States.

Over the past ten years, research on the social context of language has provided new insights into the nature of stylistic variation in the use of language, and the effect of socioeconomic factors on linguistic variation in a given speech community. Most of the theoretical progress, however, has been limited to phonological aspects of language, specifically English. There have been notable methodological breakthroughs, particularly in the use of quantitative analyses based on recorded speech use (both in interviews and natural settings), but few studies focusing on U.S. Spanish have followed these methodological lines. Traditional descriptive studies have considered Spanish speakers to be practically single-style speakers in an ideally homogeneous speech community. Linguistic phenomena have been isolated from situational contexts of actual language usage, and most research questions have dealt only with the standard dialect and with the referential function of language (Hymes, 1972). Very few studies of Spanish and bilingualism have replaced this approach with a more realistic concept of a sociolinguistic continuum in which each linguistic system can be described as a part of every speaker's or community's repertoire (Gumperz, 1964).

As Labov states, there are those who consider "variation as an inherent property of the linguistic situation. . . . Homogeneity, if it existed, would no doubt be dysfunctional and would give way to more heterogeneous language forms. The major theoretical move required is to abandon the identification of structure with homogeneity" (Labov, 1971, p. 469). In effect, some linguists have come to accept natural linguistic behavior as inherently heterogeneous or variable. Thus the previous assumption that language contact and the processes resulting from it were "unnatural" has been replaced by a framework in which natural linguistic behavior is thought of as being essentially variable and situationally contextualized, subject to various sociolinguistic constraints. Few studies of U.S. Spanish have been conducted within this theoretical framework, although it seems to be the most appropriate approach to describe contactual dialects that reflect a great number of internal modifications through different types of borrowings and code-switching.

In the area of language and ethnicity, studies about the attitudes of Hispanics toward English and Spanish and toward varieties of those languages are scarce. The role of Spanish in the ethnic identity of bilinguals needs to be assessed. Can we equate an increased use of Spanish with resistance to cultural assimilation? Knowledge about attitudes toward languages and language varieties is crucial to understanding the processes of language choice, language shift, and language maintenance in these communities.

The area of code-switching—the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence, or constituent—is the aspect of interplay between Spanish and English that perhaps has received the most attention in the last few years, particularly relating to linguistic constraints (Gumperz and Hernández-Chávez, 1975; Pfaff, 1979; Poplack, 1979). These studies and others have provided strong evidence that code-switching is a verbal skill that requires a large degree of linguistic competence in both languages, rather than a deficiency resulting from imperfect knowledge of one or the other language. There are still many questions about code-switching that need to be explored, especially the attitudinal implications of code-switching behavior with regard to language maintenance efforts in bilingual education.

Most of the research issues discussed in the conference and addressed in this volume are related to the types of sociolinguistic behavior found in the classroom, and are thus relevant to the issue of which linguistic norms present in bilingual communities are considered inappropriate vehicles for school instruction. The case of code-switching is a clear example of the incongruence between the language of the community and home and that of the school. The alternation of Spanish and English in bilingual discourse has been regarded by many, especially educators, as a disintegration of Chicano and Puerto Rican Spanish language and culture. However, most bilinguals view this mode of communication as a feature that is characteristic of their identity. Research on bilingualism and code-switching can demonstrate to educators and society at large that what is usually considered a "deviation" from an idealized "norm" of linguistic behavior is a socially acceptable standard for usage in various speech situations in the home and community, especially among those speakers who have learned both languages in early childhood and who have considerable contact with the English-speaking world. Researchers can provide educators with a sociolinguistic description of Spanish varieties that can promote recognition of the different styles that are locally appropriate. Such a definition can also help identify the norms for the use or non-use of a specific language variety by particular types of people in particular types of situations.

This incongruence between the language of the home or community and the language of the school is thus directly related to the area of language planning—the attempt to find solutions to language problems through decisions about alternative goals, means, and outcomes to solve these problems (Rubin and Jernudd, 1971). The factor of social and linguistic attitudes is also relevant to any discussion of judgments concerning the educational implications of social dialects, especially with regard to the subject of bidialectalism.

In the first part of this volume, dealing with language contact issues, Lantolf and Dvořak examine changes that U.S. Spanish syntax is undergoing as a result of English influence. In his paper, which stresses the need for comparative research of U.S. varieties of Spanish, Lantolf finds that Chicanos of San Antonio, Texas and Puerto Ricans of Rochester, New York diverge from the standard in their acceptance of certain constructions, especially those involving gerunds, but that they differ from each other with regard to prepositional phrases as nominal modifiers and *en* + gerund constructions. Chicanos tend to show a broader level of divergence than Puerto Ricans, who, comparatively speaking, represent a more conservative linguistic position.

Dvořak also examines the effects of English on the Spanish spoken by Puerto Ricans and finds usage in *gustar* constructions to be extremely variable. Her paper emphasizes that, aside from English influence, there may also be an interplay between standard and nonstandard language rules of Spanish. It is possible that these patterns are also present in other dialects of Spanish.

A slightly different view of language contact is presented by Sobin, who points out that the bilinguals he interviewed had acquired the syntax of English independently of their Spanish syntax. At least for his informants, no systematic signs of linguistic convergence were revealed, which suggests a high degree of separation of the speakers' two linguistic systems.

In her paper about the Judeo-Spanish of New York City, Harris explains borrowing from English and modern standard Spanish into Judeo-Spanish as proof of its disintegration, and she presents bleak prospects for its maintenance. Silva-Corvalán takes a different perspective with regard to the alternation of English and Spanish among Chicano English-dominant bilingual adolescents of East Los Angeles. She examines the functional value of what she calls code-shifting, and finds out that it is evidence of the speaker's ability to change codes to communicate more personally and effectively in a language in which he or she is less proficient.

Olmedo-Williams touches on several aspects of the scarcely researched field of bilingual children's interaction in the classroom. She demonstrates how these children are capable not only of manipulating the structures of both languages, but also of using both languages alternately to model, explain, reinforce, and give feedback to their listeners. They use code-switching skillfully to provide emphasis and clarification, or to structure the task. Obviously, more research is needed so that the classroom environment is structured in order to foster the development of these skills.

Poplack's paper—which was presented at the conference as a review of the other papers on language contact—raises important issues about the methodology, conceptualization, and ideology of most work done on language contact as it relates to U.S. Spanish. As she points out, flaws in those aspects of research may contribute to a picture of the bilingual situation that may do a disservice to communities that are striving to maintain and develop their linguistic resources.

The papers of Part II deal with linguistic variation from different perspectives. Terrell examines data from Caribbean dialects concentrating on the phonological manifestations of the -*s* that signals plurality. Terrell proposes three different systems:

(1) a conservative one in which plural is represented in a significant number of cases by an *s*-type sound;

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(2) the most radically innovative system, in which words, as a rule, do not have a final *-s* or any other sound that can be identified as signalling plurality; and

(3) an intermediate system, where the plural is still signalled by sound and sound processes.

We are in the presence of a typical case of a linguistic system that is being restructured. This change may follow the dictates of rules which, nevertheless, embody universal tendencies that no dialect can escape.

The search for such linguistic universals is the topic of Guitart's paper, which is a review of work done on linguistic variation. As he points out, seemingly unconstrained processes follow two clearly differentiated paths. On the one hand, phonetic erosion leads to weakening and deletion of sounds; on the other, communication is apt to be preserved in spite of this phonetic erosion. His paper stresses the need for a more comprehensive approach to the study of linguistic variation and the processes of human communication.

In Part III of this volume, Fishman and Milán suggest that a reassessment of Spanish language resources and social factors of the past two decades is needed in order to place the future of U.S. Spanish in perspective. This reexamination is the object of their 1979-1982 National Institute of Education and U.S. Department of Education-funded research project aimed at examining and interpreting the communal institutions and social networks that use and promote minority languages in the United States. Their long-overdue comparative research should shed new light on the trends shared by non-English languages in the United States.

Cisneros and Leone examine the nature of the sociolinguistic situation in the urban communities of the Twin Cities, Minnesota between descendants of early settlers, who have not retained Spanish, and recently settled migrants who are maintaining their bilingualism. These authors also provide a description of ethnic group boundaries and their contact experiences, particularly with regard to language and culture identification.

Weller's contribution focuses on the role of the Spanish language as a cohesive force in the scarcely studied Hispanic community of the greater Washington, D.C. area. Her statement that Spanish will remain a stable force in this speech community as long as Hispanics continue to be a distinguishable social group and have special functions reserved for the language should interest those concerned with the maintenance of Spanish.

The last section deals with issues of language maintenance, policy, and planning. Zentella takes a subject vital to language planning: acceptability and adequacy criteria. Hers is a call for a democratic language policy that respects and encourages linguistic diversity, a position that is at odds with current language policies in the United States. Furthermore, because of the lack of adequate research on language planning, we are still far away from knowing exactly what is needed, what is feasible, and what is desirable in the communities' terms.

García outlines the federal perspective on language planning and language policy, and stresses that a full assessment of the situation—especially language compartmentalization—and a design that can be implemented are imperative. In dealing with the maintenance of Spanish, Lozano is particularly concerned with the detrimental effects that a high degree of borrowing and code-switching may have on the prospects for maintaining Spanish, and he outlines the types of research that may have an impact on language maintenance efforts. The presentation by Valdés touches on an important issue for Hispanics, that of developing strategies for making Hispanic communities biliterate, especially when it is a factor in Spanish language retention. She stresses three areas of action: teaching Spanish to bilinguals in high school, training bilingual teachers, and developing community activities for out-of-school bilingual adults. She summons all those with an interest in the Spanish language to get to work on the local levels while the research is in progress, to provide the technical assistance to communities that do not want Spanish to follow the path followed by other non-English languages in the United States.

We trust that this collection is a representative sample of present research on U.S. Spanish, particularly outside the Southwest, and of a variety of research techniques and perspectives that are being tested on U.S. Spanish data. The discussion of many issues has only begun; let us hope that this volume will serve as a stimulus to others to work in both theoretical and applied projects dealing with U.S. Spanish, so that we may obtain the empirical information from which generalizations about developing, maintaining, and expanding Spanish can be established.

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Language Contact Issues

Toward a Comparative Dialectology of U.S. Spanish

James P. Lantolf

About the Author

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Abstract

Most research studies on U.S. dialects of Spanish have focused on a single variety of Spanish without trying to incorporate a comparative component into their design. As a result of comparative investigations of U.S. Spanish, researchers may better understand the nature of language contact. The present study compares linguistic patterns used by Chicano and Puerto Rican speech communities. These are structures in which gerunds and adverbials function as adjectives (*Te envió una caja conteniendo libros* and *Tráeme el libro sobre la cama*), a common occurrence in English but usually avoided in monolingual dialects of Spanish. Research for the study was carried out in San Antonio, Texas and Buffalo and Rochester, New York. The instrument was an acceptability questionnaire in which the respondents were to indicate whether a series of eighteen sentences sounded natural or acceptable. The findings reveal that although there are similarities in the way in which Chicanos and Puerto Ricans perceive the English-like constructions, there also are differences between the two dialects. The Chicanos appear to have integrated the structures more fully into their dialect than the Puerto Ricans. The reason for the differences may well be the diverse relationship that the respective dialects have enjoyed with the English language and Anglo culture.

The success of any educational program depends in large measure on a thorough understanding of what students already know when they enter the program. An educator must know which linguistic system the students bring to the educational experience. Those who write and publish texts for Spanish bilingual programs, however, have tended to view the language as a more or less homogeneous phenomenon and have given little consideration to the possible variations among the dialects. There are texts that take into account lexical differences among the major dialects of U.S. Spanish, but the attention that has been given to syntactic and semantic differences has been minimal. Comparative research on the syntactic and semantic similarities and differences among the U.S. Spanish dialects is one way of providing a more appropriate data base from which text writers can develop their materials.

Introduction

In a recent paper, Ornstein and Valdés-Fallis (1979) argue for the development of a more systematic and organized approach to the investigation of U.S. dialects of Spanish than has been seen in the past. The authors believe that U.S. varieties of Spanish "up to now have been treated in a haphazard and piecemeal form" (Ornstein and Valdés-Fallis, 1979, p. 142). While that evaluation appears questionable, the lack of a comparative component in most studies of U.S. Spanish may have hindered researchers from taking full advantage of existing opportunities to observe the language changes in progress and to understand better the nature of language contact.

Each of the major Hispanic communities of the United States (Chicano, Puerto Rican, and Cuban) can be characterized by a set of unique circumstances. For instance, the principal dialects are spoken by people who settled in areas that are geographically divergent and thus, with the exception of marginal contact in cities like New York, Chicago, and Detroit, they tend to be isolated from each other. What is more, Puerto Rican and Cuban Spanish are primarily urban phenomena, while Chicano Spanish is widely spoken in rural areas as well as in cities. Also, the socioeconomic and political backgrounds of each community differ markedly from those of its sister communities. It may well be that such differences have contributed to the atomistic rather than comparative design of most research projects of U.S. Spanish. Be that as it may, U.S. dialects of Spanish also share some important elements: they all make use of a common linguistic system and they each experience, although to varying degrees, extensive contact with American English.

To the author's knowledge, there has been no extensive study of how the interaction of one U.S. Spanish dialect with English compares with the interaction between English and another variety of U.S. Spanish. The primary focus of this paper is the findings of a comparative investigation of Chicano and Puerto Rican Spanish with regard to a set of syntactic features generated by contact between American English and the two Hispanic dialects.

Methodology

The study was conducted in the Chicano community of San Antonio, Texas and the Puerto Rican communities of the greater Buffalo and Rochester, New York metropolitan areas. An acceptability questionnaire was distributed to 129 Chicano and 65 Puerto Rican students ranging in age from fifteen to twenty-three. The respondents were asked to judge whether or not each of a series of eighteen sentences sounded like something that they might say or might have heard. Fourteen of the sentences contained structures in which either a locative phrase or a gerund appeared as a nominal modifier. These sentences are presented in example 1 below:

1. a. *La muchacha cantando es mi prima.*
   b. *El teléfono afuera no funciona.*
   c. *El hombre llevando corbata blanca es detective.*
   d. *No me gusta el hombre caminando en la calle.*
   e. *Te envío una caja conteniendo libros.*
   f. *El hombre protestando es comunista.*
   g. *Dále el juguete sobre la cama.*
   h. *Conozco a la muchacha besándolo.*
   i. *No conozco a la muchacha gritando en la calle.*
   j. *Tráeme el libro en la casa.*
   k. *No seguí la señal indicando la curva.*
   l. *La bandera colgando del edificio está rota.*
   m. *El perro ladrando es un gran danés.*
   n. *El niño durmiendo es mi hijo.*

The sentences given above are generally considered to deviate from acceptable usage in those Spanish dialects spoken in monolingual communities (Bello, 1979; Gili y Gaya, 1969; Goldin, 1976; and Ramsey and Spaulding, 1956). In monolingual dialects, the sentences are rendered with full relative clauses, as in example 2:

2. a. *La muchacha que está cantando es mi prima.*
   b. *Dále el juguete que está sobre la cama.*

When given the questionnaire shown in example 1, ten educated monolingual speakers of Spanish rejected all of the sentences as abnormal.

As a control measure, three of the remaining four sentences on the questionnaire were formulated in accordance with standard usage, as seen in example 3:

3. a. *Vimos a la chica que estaba guardando los libros.*
   b. *Tráeme el libro que está en el estante.*
   c. *La joven, cantando alegremente, miraba el campo.*

Some may object to discussing the linguistic norms of a bilingual community in terms of the speech patterns of monolingual communities. However, any comparisons made in the present paper between the Spanish norms of bilingual communities and those of monolingual dialects are made in the spirit of the comments of Haugen, who remarks that to describe the norm of a bilingual speech community "in terms of its deviation from the monolingual norms of the same language was not a denial of its status as an independent variety, it was merely a descriptive convenience" (Haugen, 1978, p. 34).

The final sentence on the questionnaire contained a gerund in post-prepositional position:

4. *En terminando nos vamos.*

Discussion

An analysis of the data reveals no statistically significant differences between Chicanos and Puerto Ricans with respect to those sentences in example 1 that contain gerunds functioning as adjectives. All eleven of the sentences in example 1 with gerundive adjectives were rated acceptable by a clear majority of both groups of respondents. The mean percentage of acceptability for Chicanos was 62.5 percent; for Puerto Ricans, the mean was 61.2 percent. Thus, gerundive adjectives would appear to be well established features of both dialects.

The responses for the three sentences containing a locative as a noun modifier (sentences 1b, 1g, and 1j) show a somewhat different picture. The sentences are repeated in Figure 1 for ease of reference. Each is accompanied by the level of significance between the two sets of percentages.

Figure 1
Locatives as Noun Modifiers

	Chicano	Puerto Rican	Level of Significance
1.b. *El teléfono afuera no funciona.*	67%	65%	.838
1.g. *Dále el juguete sobre la cama.*	52%	33%	.101
1.j. *Tráeme el libro en la casa.*	42%	17%	.021

Both dialects seemingly distinguish between real adverbs and adverbial phrases introduced by prepositions. That is, Chicanos as well as Puerto Ricans permit the adverb *afuera* to take on an adjectival function to a much higher degree than they do adverbial phrases introduced by the prepositions *sobre* and *en*. Moreover, only the Chicano respondents accept locative phrases as nominal modifiers with any degree of consistency. Although the percentages reveal a difference between the two groups with respect to which of the prepositional phrases is accorded more favorable status, the difference is statistically significant only in the case of *en*. On the basis of the evidence, it is difficult to reach any firm conclusions. Nevertheless, it is important to advance a hypothesis to account for the above data, if for no other reason than to lay the groundwork for future research; in U.S. dialects of Spanish, morphological class (i.e., real adverb versus preposition) may constrain the use of locative phrases as adjectives, and the selection of specific prepositions may act as the constraint within the morphological class "preposition." Real adverbs may be better suited to adjectival duty than prepositional phrases, and certain prepositions may be better suited for such duty than others. What is more, the degree of acceptability of prepositional phrases as nominal modifiers seems to vary across dialects, with Chicanos more readily favoring such structures than Puerto Ricans.

As suggested here, more extensive data are required before any firm conclusions can be reached. For example, the preposition *con* must be studied in its locative function, as illustrated in example 5:

5. a. *El médico que está con María es mi primo.* (standard)
   b. *El médico con María es mi primo.* (nonstandard)

In addition, the use of real adverbs other than *afuera* requires examination, e.g., *aquí, arriba, abajo,* etc. It should be pointed out that the primary intent of the questionnaire was to study the gerundive adjectives. Locatives were included in order to discover if, in fact, these structures might prove to be an area of fruitful research. As it turns out, the locatives that were included on the questionnaire appear to signal a more marked difference between the two dialects than the gerundives. Only further investigation will reveal if this is indeed the case.

The final structure to be discussed, although not related to adjectival constructions, nevertheless produced some interesting results in terms of the comparative reactions of the two groups of respondents. In responding to sentence 4, (*"En terminando nos vamos"*), 52 percent of the Chicanos indicated no objection to the use of the gerund following a preposition. On the other hand, the sentence evoked a negative response from 100 percent of the Puerto Ricans. The percentages indicate a rather sharp difference between the two dialects—a difference that was found to be signficant at the $p. < .001$ level.

There are a number of possible explanations for the contrast. It could be assumed that English provides the stimulus for such sentences, since English does use the gerund in post-prepositional environments. It could then be argued that, for reasons to be discussed later, the dialects of the Southwest have been influenced by English to a greater extent than those of the Northeast. On the other hand, Franch and Blecua (1975, p. 752) remark that constructions like sentence 4 are found in monolingual Spanish dialects. Ramsey and Spaulding support this, commenting that "the present participle is never preceded by any preposition except. . . by *en,* which construction is used principally when something happens after the completion of the action expressed by the present participle" (Ramsey and Spaulding, 1956, p. 366). On this basis, one could be inclined to rule out any relationship between structures like sentence 4 and English. If preposition-plus-gerund constructions occur in monolingual dialects, we may simply be dealing with U.S. dialects of Spanish that have established distinct sets of norms regardless of the particular relationship each has with English. It could then be argued that the Puerto Rican dialect has developed a set of norms that does not include configurations like sentence 4, while the Chicano dialect does at least allow for such sentences.

The attestation of utterances containing a gerund in post-prepositional position in dialects spoken outside of the United States should not automatically eliminate from consideration the role of English contact with Chicano Spanish. In fact, Franch and Blecua (1975) observe that *en*-plus-gerund usage is practically unknown today in spoken Spanish and occurs only rarely in the written language. Ramsey and Spaulding (1956) corroborate this observation when they note that the construction is attested with a very low frequency. While English may not have directly influenced the formation of sentences like 4 (a crucial point that must await further research), it may well have reinforced those elements of the Chicano macrostructure that naturally tend toward developing a norm that includes *en*-plus-gerund configurations.

In the case of the *estar*-plus-locative constructions, the English rule of relative clause reduction seems to be directly implicated in the creation of the Spanish innovations. That is, English relative clause reduction optionally deletes relative pronouns and the copula even in the environment of adverbs and locative phrases introduced by prepositions.

Such is not the case in the monolingual dialects of Spanish. In these dialects, relative clause reduction is blocked in precisely the same context in which it is permitted in English and the U.S. dialects of Spanish. Whether the notion of English influence covers the case of gerundive adjectives is not quite so clear, since there are constructions in the monolingual dialects that at first glance seem to contain gerundive adjectives. Constructions such as that in example 6 are grammatically correct in all Spanish dialects:

6. *Vi a la muchacha corriendo por el parque.*

On the surface, it appears that sentence 6 is a paraphrase of the next example:

7. *Vi a la muchacha que estaba corriendo por el parque.*

It therefore seems similar to the gerundive sentences in example 1. If such were the case, it could be argued that use of the gerund as an adjective in U.S. Spanish results not from English influence but from analogical extension of constructions like sentence 6.

Several scholars insist that gerunds can indeed take on adjectival functions in Spanish (Ruiz, 1976; Espinosa and Wonder, 1976; Franch and Blecua, 1975). However, Espinosa and Wonder, and Franch and Blecua qualify their respective positions, claiming that a gerund can only surface as an adjective in nonrestrictive relative clauses, as in the following sentence:

8. *Elena, volviendo a casa, vió el accidente.*

This construction, according to these scholars, is an elliptical form of example 9:

9. *Elena, que estaba volviendo a casa, vió el accidente.*

To cite Espinosa and Wonder, "*Hay que hacer hincapié en el hecho de que el uso de V-ndo debe ser* *parentético* (emphasis added), *ya que el inglés se sirve de V-ing en sentido especificativo*" (1976, p. 156).

Ruiz (1976) claims that sentences like examples 6 and 7 have basically the same meaning and that the surface difference between the two arises from the application of the same rule, relative clause reduction, that derives sentence 10a from 10b:

10. a. *Conozco al hombre cansado.*
    b. *Conozco al hombre que está cansado.*

Ruiz concludes that there are lexical constraints which block the application of relative clause reduction in specific instances, even though the structural description of the rule is met. Thus, sentence 11a is grammatical, while 11b is not:

11. a. *Encontré a la chica besándote.*
    b. *Conozco a la chica besándote.*

Despite his insistence that sentence 6 should be derived from 7, Ruiz admits that the relationship between a real adjective and its antecedent differs from that between a gerundive adjective and its antecedent. This difference is apparently caused by the fact that the sentence that underlies construction 6 is not 7 but another sentence that contains an adverbial rather than a relative clause, as illustrated in example 12:

12. *Vi a la muchacha (mientras estaba) corriendo por el parque.*

Both Bello (1970) and Gili y Gaya (1969) concur that in cases where a gerund appears in immediate post-nominal position, it maintains its adverbial function and does not take on the attributes of an adjective. Gili y Gaya makes the following comment:

> *Si tratásemos de particularizar o especificar al sujeto, el gerundio perdería su cualidad verbal para convertirse en adjetivo, y su empleo sería incorrecto. Así ocurre, por ejemplo, en algunas frases frecuentes en el lenguaje administrativo, como un decreto nombrando director, ley regulando los créditos.* (Gili y Gaya, 1969, p. 195)

(Note that the use of gerundive adjectives in a specialized register like bureaucratese does not mean that these structures are in general use throughout the Spanish-speaking world.)

In cases in which the gerund appears in parenthetical constructions, usually referred to as instances of *uso explicativo,* Bello and Gili y Gaya insist on an adverbial function:

> *A veces parece el gerundio construírse con el sujeto de la proposición modificándolo: y pudiera dudarse si conserva o no el carácter de adverbio: "El ama, imaginando que de aquella consulta había de salir la resolución de la tercera salida, toda llena de congoja y pesadumbre se fue a buscar al bachiller Sansón Carrasco" (Cervantes). Yo creo, con todo, que la cláusula de gerundio es aún en casos como éste una frase adverbial que modifica al atributo; como lo haría un complemento de causa: "El ama, por imaginar," o una proposición introducida por un adverbio relativo: "El ama, como imaginaba."* (Bello 1970, p. 360)
>
> *Si decimos los alumnos, viviendo lejos, llegaban tarde a la escuela, el gerundio explica la causa de su tardanza y nos referimos a todos los alumnos. Si suprimimos las comas y decimos los alumnos viviendo lejos llegaban tarde a la escuela, no nos referimos ya a todos los alumnos, sino sólo a los que vivían lejos; en este caso el gerundio no tiene carácter explicativo sino especificativo, y por ello su uso se siente como incorrecto.* (Gili y Gaya 1969, p. 196)

Later, Gili y Gaya comments that it is essential that *"el gerundio exprese una acción, transformación o cambio en transcurso perceptible, y no una cualidad, estado o acción tan lenta que se asemeje a una cualidad por no ser perceptible el cambio que se produce"* (Gili y Gaya, 1969, p. 196). According to this explanation, a sentence like 1e, repeated below as 13a, is ungrammatical and should properly be expressed as 13b, because the gerund is not compatible *"con la idea de acción en curso, esencial del gerundio"* (Gili y Gaya, 1969, p. 197).

13. a. *Te envío una caja conteniendo libros.*
    b. *Te envío una caja que contiene libros.*

He concludes that *"sólo llevan gerundio los complementos directos de verbos que significan percepción sensible o intelectual (ver, mirar, oír, sentir, notar, observar, contemplar, distinguir, recordar, hallar, etc.), o representación (dibujar, pintar, grabar, describir, representar, etc.)"* (Gili y

Gaya, 1969, p. 197). These verbs allow for an adverbial interpretation of the gerund.

Ramsey and Spaulding (1956) likewise agree that the gerund cannot be used as an adjective to qualify a noun in Spanish. They remark that "the meaning must be expressed by a participial adjective in *ante, ente, iente*. . . or some adjective of equal value" (Ramsey and Spaulding, 1956, p. 367).

However, in his notes to Bello (1970), Alcalá-Zamora y Torres implies that a perception verb like *ver* does indeed permit a following gerund to be interpreted as an adjective: *"Otras muchas veces el gerundio resuelve, y representa abreviada una oración de relativo: 'vi al niño leyendo y jugando a ratos' significa que leía y que jugaba"* (Bello 1970, p. 365). When the pair of sentences given in example 14 were presented to two native speakers, one from Chile and one from Spain, they did not see sentence 14a as a paraphrase of 14b and insisted on an adverbial interpretation of the gerund in 14a:

14. a. *Vi al niño leyendo y jugando a ratos.*
    b. *Vi al niño que leía y que jugaba a ratos.*

Also consider the reactions of the same two informants mentioned above to the sentence given in example 15:

15. *Encontré a la chica estudiando allí en el mercado.*

Both informants concurred that the only possible interpretation of *allí* and *en el mercado* is that they refer to the same entity; that is, *allí* refers only to *en el mercado*. The investigator's intent was to force an interpretation in which *allí* could refer to a place that is not coreferent to *en el mercado*, as is possible in the following English sentence:

16. I met the girl studying (over) there in the market.

If the gerund in example 15 were in fact functioning as an adjective, it would seem possible for *allí* and *en el mercado* to be interpreted as having separate referents. In fact, the only way that informants would permit different referents for the two adverbs was to insert a relative clause into the structure, as in example 17:

17. *Encontré a la chica que esta(ba) allí en el mercado.*

When both informants were asked to explain or paraphrase the meaning of sentence 15, they used a configuration containing a temporal adverbial:

18. *Encontré a la chica (mientras/cuando) estaba estudiando allí en el mercado.*

Despite the above evidence to the contrary, there are instances when gerunds truly seem to function as adjectives, as illustrated in example 19:

19. a. *Aquí tengo su carta anunciando su intención de partir.*
    b. *Hay alguien llamando a la puerta.*

According to Ramsey and Spaulding (1956), the gerund in example 19a does not specify but explains the noun; that is, it represents a nonrestrictive rather than a restrictive use of the gerund. Solé and Solé (1977) point out that the use of the gerund as a nominal modifier does occur sporadically with the verb *haber* as in sentence 19b, but once again its function is nonrestrictive. Be that as it may, sentences like those in example 19 as well as those in which *ardiendo* and *hirviendo* (e.g., *casa ardiendo, agua hirviendo*) are for the most part exiguous and can be explained as low-level lexical manipulations rather than as a result of productive rule application (see Hensey, 1973, p. 21).

Conclusion

The evidence does not appear sufficient to support the hypothesis that attitudes expressed by the respondents toward the sentences in example 1 were affected by properties inherent in the linguistic system of Spanish. A much more tenable supposition is that the informants' responses were colored by features of their linguistic competence which, historically, have their roots in English.

That one language should influence another in the linguistic habits of bilinguals is not surprising, since "the resources of both languages are available to them, and only a vigorous effort enables speakers to keep them wholly apart" (Haugen, 1977, p. 98). The term "interference" has been applied to describe those cases in which the linguistic patterns produced by bilinguals appear to signal a failure to keep the systems apart. Weinreich, for example, describes interference as "instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of familiarity with more than one language" (1966, p. 1). It cannot be assumed, however, that every attestation of an element from one language in the structure of the other results from the failure to segregate the linguistic systems.

Mackey (1971, p. 197) refines the notion of interference and distinguishes between interference and integration. According to Mackey, *interference* is tied to the communicative process and arises when elements from one of the languages in contact intrudes in the structure of the other during the transmission of a message. *Integration*, on the other hand, is a feature of the linguistic code used by a bilingual speech community. A particular linguistic feature may have arisen historically because of interference, but the new feature eventually becomes integrated into the linguistic code of the bilingual community.

At any given moment it is not clear whether the appearance of a particular feature from one language in the structure of another reflects interference or integration. Mackey (1971) suggests conducting an acceptability study as one way of determining if a feature has been integrated into the linguistic code of a community. If respondents render favorable judgments on a linguistic element suspected of having roots in a donor language, it can be concluded with some degree of certainty that the element has been integrated into their linguistic code. But integration is a question of degree, since at any given time not all members of a population will necessarily have integrated a feature into their code (Mackey, 1971, p. 201). Evidence from the present study amply illustrates this notion. Because more than 60 percent of both groups accepted sentences in which a gerund or the adverb *afuera* functions as an adjective, it can be concluded that these elements have been more than 60 percent integrated into the code used by each group. However, more than 30 percent of the respondents rejected the elements; hence, each group is still a long way from completely integrating the two features. For the remaining elements (i.e., prepositional phrases as nominal modifiers and *en* plus gerund), the situation is different. Not only has each group of respondents integrated these features to a lesser extent than gerunds and *afuera,* there is also evidence of a marked difference in level of integration of the elements across populations, with Chicanos exhibiting a greater degree of integration than Puerto Ricans.

As part of a general study on mood in the Puerto Rican dialect of Rochester, New York, Lantolf (1978) includes a comparison of the mood system used by Puerto Ricans with that employed by Chicanos. The author was able to make some comparisons between his findings and those of Terrell and García (1977), who studied the use of mood in the Chicano dialect. There are, of course, inherent difficulties in any attempt to compare data from independent research efforts, not the least of which is the design and content of the questionnaire implemented in each project. Although the comparison was necessarily general, it nevertheless revealed similarities and differences between the mood systems used by the two dialects. While both dialects coincide in their preference for indicative mood in configurations formulated in a past temporal framework (e.g., *se alegró de que no llovió* instead of the standard *se alegró de que no haya llovido*), the Puerto Ricans favor the subjunctive mood to a greater degree than the Chicanos in constructions cast in the future (e.g., *es posible que compren una televisión a colores* versus *es posible que comprarán una televisión a colores*). In other words, the Chicanos studied by Terrell and García (1977) showed less overlap with standard usage in the subjunctive/indicative contrast than the Puerto Ricans investigated by Lantolf (1978).

The findings of the present study indicate that a patterning similar to that uncovered in the relative mood systems of the two dialects exists in other areas of structure as well. That is, both dialects diverge in a parallel fashion from the standard in their acceptance of gerunds and the real adverb *afuera* used as adjectives, but they differ from each other with regard to prepositional phrases as nominal modifiers and *en*-plus-gerund constructions. The Puerto Ricans approximate standard tendencies more closely in the latter two cases than the Chicanos. Overall, even though both dialects diverge from monolingual norms along similar lines in certain areas of linguistic structure, Chicanos tend to show a broader and more intense level of divergence than Puerto Ricans, who represent a more conservative linguistic posture, comparatively speaking.

An important factor may be found in the nature of contact between each community's macrostructure and the English-speaking community of the United States. In the Southwest, Chicanos have experienced a protracted and expansive period of coexistence with the dominant culture and its language. Chicanos have been in intimate contact with Anglo culture for over two centuries, and aspects of their culture permeate life in big cities, small towns, and rural areas throughout the Southwest. Nevertheless, official recognition of Spanish as a legitimate means of communication in the United States and the inception of federally supported bilingual programs are recent phenomena, and Chicanos were long discouraged from using Spanish in public. This was especially true in the school setting. Consequently, the educational process for Chicanos was essentially an English-language experience. In such an environment, a low level of resistance to linguistic interference would not be surprising. As Mackey (1971) points out, resistance to interference is strongest in formally standardized codes and is weakest when a language is perceived as not enjoying most favored status.

While the Puerto Rican community in the United States shares a cultural matrix with the Anglo community, the relationship has not been identical to the Chicano-Anglo experience. Puerto Ricans did not begin to migrate to the mainland in large numbers until after World War II. Moreover, the Puerto Rican community in the United States is generally concentrated in the large urban centers of the Northeast. As a result, the Puerto Ricans have not had as prolonged or geographically and socially extensive a contact with the dominant culture and its language as the Chicanos. In addition, many of the Puerto Ricans residing in this country were born in Puerto Rico and were first exposed to Spanish there; only after spending their formative years in Puerto Rico did they emigrate to the United States. What is more, many Puerto Ricans maintain strong ties with their homeland. Lantolf (1978) discovered that this was especially true in the case of those Puerto Ricans residing in the Rochester vicinity. In such a climate, a certain amount of resistance to interference and innovation would be expected. In fact, several of the Puerto Rican respondents who participated in the present study not only indicated their attitude toward the items on the questionnaire but also felt compelled to restructure the sentences that they believed to be unacceptable. Such action was conceivably prompted by an awareness of an educated linguistic standard. Overt correction was not attempted in a single instance by the Chicano respondents.

As a final note, it should be reiterated that what has been attempted in this study should be seen as nothing more than an initial step in the development of a comparative dialectology of U.S. Spanish. In the author's opinion, comparative research forms an essential aspect of the overall effort to elucidate U.S. Spanish.

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Subject–Object Reversals in the Use of *Gustar* among New York Hispanics

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Abstract

Research conducted in New York City among bilingual Puerto Ricans regarding the use and comprehension of sentences with the verb *gustar,* and several other verbs of the same class, demonstrates that these bilinguals' Spanish shows tendencies not common in standard Spanish. In sentences having the verb *gustar,* the object-verb agreement characteristic of this verb derives from a subject-object role reversal: the subject becomes the object and vice versa when both are third person (*A él le gusta los deportes* for *A él le gustan los deportes*). In an earlier study the author hypothesized that the objects were not actually interpreted as subjects, but that possible "agreement attraction" was producing the variant pattern of verb-object concord.

The agreement attraction hypothesis is still viable; whatever precedes the verb triggers agreement, whether it is the subject or the object. But new grammaticality and comprehension tests given to the informants indicate that whatever is in subject position does not trigger verb agreement by attraction, but because it is in fact being interpreted as the true subject of the sentence, except where semantic restrictions would be violated.

This reversal is seen as a result of the weakening of the importance of the syntactic object markers, such as the preposition *a* followed by nominal phrase clarifiers that frequently accompany indirect object pronouns in Spanish (*A ellos les gustan los carros*), as well as interference from the English "like" construction. Factors related to an interplay between standard and nonstandard language rules of Spanish regarding this construction need to be investigated further, especially because these patterns may be more widespread in other Spanish dialects than is usually recognized.

Most people who are unfamiliar with linguistic research and who do not understand how and why linguistic variation occurs, have the common belief that Spanish has or should have a "correct" form, and that all other forms that depart from it are deviations and inherently wrong. It is extremely important that teachers in bilingual education programs understand that variation in any language is not only natural and normal, but also inevitable. Variant pronunciation forms and syntactical patterns, such as those discussed here, should not be ignored or rejected but understood and dealt with. Especially in the case of Spanish for bilingual classes, knowledge of syntactical patterns that differ from monolingual usage can be used in developing language proficiency tests and curricular materials.

A great deal of the conflict that may arise in classes for native speakers may result from a lack of understanding that new forms have emerged because of language contact between English and Spanish, generating new linguistic norms in the students' speech communities. Furthermore, practitioners in bilingual education should also realize that some of these variations may occur not only because of interference from English, but also as a result of intrasystemic changes that are operating within Spanish.

Introduction

Dialect studies focusing on the Spanish of the Hispanic communities in the United States have revealed many and varied linguistic and sociolinguistic characteristics particular to these groups. Some of these characteristics are effects of the Hispanic community's contact with the greater English-speaking environment that surrounds it, and others reflect language change due to the isolation of these Hispanic groups from a wider Spanish-speaking milieu.

One such dialect study was a recent effort by this author and a colleague concerning the use of *gustar* among bilingual Spanish-English Puerto Rican university students in the New York City area (Trisha Dvořak and Carl Kirshner, "Mary Likes Fishes: Reverse Psychological Phenomena in New York Puerto Rican Spanish," in *Bilingual Review* 9, no. 1). In that study, students were given an English-Spanish translation task involving the use of *gustar.* The sentences obtained from this task indicated that, at least as far as the use of *gustar* was concerned, the syntax of New York Puerto Rican Spanish differs from that of monolingual Spanish-speaking communities. Briefly, this difference centered on the tendency to make the verb agree with the object rather than with the true subject whenever third person objects are involved. Thus, sentences in standard Spanish like (1) and (2), below, become (3) and (4) in the New York Puerto Rican dialect:

1. *A él le gustan los deportes.*
   (He likes sports.)
2. *A Ustedes les gusta este libro.*
   (You all like this book.)
3. *A él le gusta los deportes.*
   (He likes sports.)
4. *A Ustedes les gustan este libro.*
   (You all like this book.)

While this pattern of agreement might seem a direct result of English interference due to the interpretation of *gustar* as the English "like" and the subsequent transfer of the "like" subject-verb-object (S-V-O) syntactic pattern, there were other indications that English interference alone was an inadequate explanation. First, object-verb agreement never occurred when the object was first or second person, although this frequently happens among English speakers learning Spanish: sentences (5) and (6) are common language learner errors, but almost never occur among Hispanics:

5. *Me gusto el fútbol.*
   (I like football.)

6. *¿Te gustas esta universidad?*
   (Do you like this university?)

Second, the indirect object clitic pronouns (*me, te, le, nos, les*) are often left out by language learners. They are never left out by the Hispanics, suggesting that agreement with the verb notwithstanding, the object is still perceived as an *object.* In this study, agreement was explained as having been "attracted" by the presence of a subject-like pronoun or noun in the prepositional phrase that usually immediately precedes *gustar.* All third person prepositional pronouns are identical to the subject pronouns; first and second person pronouns (with the exception of *nosotros*) are, however, very different, blocking object-verb agreement.

Using two more syntactic tests with third person objects—one determining grammar use and the other, comprehension—this writer concluded that the object-verb agreement patterns in fact do not reflect an attraction phenomenon as earlier hypothesized. Rather, the object of *gustar* is actually interpreted as its subject. The interpretation of *gustar's* O-V-S pattern as an S-V-O pattern is shown to have interesting repercussions on the production and comprehension of *encantar, interesar,* and *importar,* three verbs with syntactic and semantic properties similar to *gustar.*

Study 1: Determining Grammar Use

Subjects

Twelve Spanish-English bilingual university students from the New York metropolitan area participated in the first study. Of these, nine were Puerto Rican and three were Cuban. All were currently enrolled in a special grammar course for native Spanish speakers, but none had had any formal instruction in Spanish before that time. In general, the Puerto Ricans had acquired English and Spanish simultaneously. The Cubans had learned English later—on the average, around age ten.

Methodology

A series of thirty-one sentences involving the verbs *gustar, encantar, importar,* and *interesar*—seventeen of which were ungrammatical—were read to each of the twelve students in individual testing sessions. They were asked to decide if the sentence sounded "OK" and then were asked to comment on whether or not they themselves would actually say the sentence. If a negative answer was received, the students were asked how they would change the sentence to make it sound better.

Results

For all the verbs except *importar,* the grammar use of the Hispanic students corresponded more closely to the rules of standard Spanish when the sentence word order was S-V-O than when it was O-V-S. In other words, when the true subject preceded the verb, the students were more likely to accept subject-verb agreement; when the object preceded the verb, subject-verb agreement was rejected in favor of object-verb agreement. Thus, an ungrammatical S-V-O sentence such as (7) was rejected by ten of the twelve students, while an ungrammatical O-V-S sentence such as (8) was rejected by only one of the twelve.

7. *Los chocolates le gusta mucho.*
   (He likes chocolates a lot.)
8. *A Ud. le interesa los discos.*
   (Records interest you.)

In the case of *importar,* grammar use among the Puerto Ricans continued to favor S-V-O, while the Cubans favored O-V-S. These results are summarized in Table I. The breakdown of responses for individual items is presented in Appendix A.

Table I

Correspondence of Puerto Rican and Cuban Grammar Use with That of Standard Spanish

Subject-Verb-Object Word Order

	gustar/ encantar	*importar*	*interesar*	Total
Number Sentences	6	3	3	12
Puerto Rican	79%	44%	41%	61%
Cuban	72%	78%	55%	69%

Object-Verb-Subject Word Order

	gustar/ encantar	*importar*	*interesar*	Total
Number Sentences	5	2	2	9
Puerto Rican	60%	28%	11%	42%
Cuban	53%	83%	17%	52%

Study 2: Comprehension

Subjects

Twenty-three Spanish-English bilingual university students from the New York metropolitan area participated in the study. Of these, sixteen were Puerto Ricans who had lived most of their lives in the United States; the other seven were Cubans who had been in the United States for a shorter period. As in the earlier study, the Puerto Ricans had learned English at a very early age, while first exposure to English among the Cubans did not occur on the average until age ten. None of these students had participated in the first study.

Methodology

A comprehension test consisting of thirty-nine items was given to the twenty-three students during a single twenty-five-minute session. Each student had a test booklet in which a series of pictures (usually two, sometimes three or four) was shown for each item. The students then listened to an aural stimulus and chose the picture that corresponded to what they had understood. The stimuli were read once with a twenty-to-twenty-five second pause between each. Of the thirty-nine test items, twenty-one contained the verbs *gustar, encantar,* and *interesar.* Several of the items were identical in meaning, being different only with respect to word order.

The test was also administered to a group of nine native speakers of Spanish from Mexico and South America enrolled in an intensive English program. At the time they took the test, these students had been studying English for less than one month. Items on the test that did not produce near-unanimity of response from these students were considered to have ambiguous stimuli, and were subsequently deleted. This left a total of seventeen test items: thirteen *gustar,* three *encantar,* and one *interesar.* Nine of these items were constructed with O-V-S word order; the other eight were constructed with an S-V-O word order.

Results

The eight sentences exhibiting an O-V-S word order produced a high percentage (an average of 87 percent) of correct responses. The nine S-V-O sentences, on the other hand, produced a much lower (53 percent average) percentage of correct responses. For example, an O-V-S sentence such as (9) was interpreted correctly 91 percent of the time—twenty-one out of twenty-three students chose the appropriate picture. When the same two pictures were presented with an S-V-O structure (10), only four of twenty-three now chose the appropriate picture—only 17 percent correct.

9. *A los estudiantes no les gusta el profesor.*

10. *El profesor no les gusta a los estudiantes.*

The word order effect was noticeably stronger for the Puerto Rican students than for the Cubans: from 87 percent correct for O-V-S stimuli the Cubans dropped to 64 percent correct for S-V-O stimuli; the Puerto Ricans dropped from 86 percent to only 49 percent correct. These results are summarized in Table II.

Table II

Percentage of Correct Answers among Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Monolingual Spanish Speakers in Comprehension Task

Subject-Verb-Object Word Order				
	gustar/ encantar	*importar*	*interesar*	Total
Number Sentences	7	0	1	8
Puerto Rican	50%		38%	49%
Cuban	67%		43%	65%
Monolingual Spanish	100%		89%	99%
Object-Verb-Subject Word Order				
	gustar/ encantar	*importar*	*interesar*	Total
Number Sentences	9	0	0	9
Puerto Rican	86%			86%
Cuban	87%			87%
Monolingual Spanish	98%			98%

One of the most striking examples of the differential effect of word order on comprehension of these verbs involves three sentence pairs, one with each of the three verbs—*gustar, encantar,* and *interesar*—in which the word order is the only difference between each member of the pair: the meaning is exactly the same. The preceding examples concerning *el profesor* and *los estudiantes* was one of the three pairs. The other two are illustrated below, with the percent of correct responses indicated for each. As in the *gustar* sentences, the word order has a direct effect on the way the sentence is interpreted. A breakdown of the responses on all seventeen test items is presented in Appendix B.

Test Item	Percentage of Students Choosing Correctly	
#1 *La mujer no le interesa a Antonio.* (The woman does not interest Anthony.)	39	(9/23 students)
#33 *A Antonio no le interesa la mujer.* (The woman does not interest Anthony.)	83	(19/23 students)
#32 *El abuelito les encanta a los niños.* (The children really like the grandfather.)	30	(7/23 students)
#39 *A los niños les encanta el abuelito.* (The children really like the grandfather.)	91	(21/23 students)

Discussion

When the results of these two studies are combined with those of the earlier production study a clear pattern emerges. When students produce a *gustar* sentence (or *encantar, interesar,* or other verb of this class) the sentence is almost always constructed with the object preceding the verb; the verb agrees with the object, not with the true subject. When students listen to sentences containing *gustar,* subject-verb agreement is likely to be accepted only when the subject precedes the verb. At this point the agreement attraction hypothesis is still viable—whatever is in the slot preceding the verb triggers agreement, whether it be the subject or the object.

However, reactions by several students to certain of the S-V-O utterances during the grammar use task gave the first clue that this phenomenon indicated something much deeper than agreement. Sentences like (11) and (12) below, were received with chuckles and comments like "oh no, you wouldn't say it that way—it sounds like the candy likes the kids," or "no, that's no good, it sounds like the chocolate likes him."

11. *El dulce les encanta a los niños.*
    (The children really like sweets.)
12. *Los chocolates le gusta mucho.*
    (He likes chocolates a lot.)

Even in cases in which a sentence was accepted as grammatical, such as (11) and (13), there were many suggestions to change the word order, "so it doesn't sound like the jewels like her."

13. *Las joyas le encantan a ella.*
    (She really likes jewels.)

In other words, it began to appear that whatever was in subject position did not trigger verb agreement by attraction, but because it was in fact being interpreted as the true subject of the sentence, except where semantic restrictions would be violated, as in the case of jewels or chocolates liking someone. The results of the comprehension test bear this out.

Why should word order play such a role in comprehension, particularly in the *gustar* construction, where the object is clearly marked as an object? First of all, in light of the data from the two studies described here, some of the earlier production data are open to reinterpretation, particularly with respect to the degree to which the object actually can be considered clearly marked as such. In the production task students left out the object-marking preposition *a* as often as they put it in. Although the object pronoun was almost always present, sometimes it agreed with the subject of the sentence instead of the object—an alternative that was suggested several times during the grammar use task as well. This misunderstanding of the co-reference of the indirect object pronouns and the *a* + noun phrase clarifiers that frequently accompany them could be seen in other aspects of their oral and written language as well. Thus it appears that the object is *not* clearly marked as such for these students. Word order becomes crucial for expressing and comprehending an utterance using *gustar.*

Both S-V-O and O-V-S word orders are possible with *gustar,* but O-V-S is generally the more frequent in most dialects of Spanish. In both production and grammar use tasks these students preferred the O-V-S word order almost exclusively. This word order, coupled with the fact that with *gustar* the object is always animate (and frequently human) and the subject inanimate, facilitates its identification with English "like" not only semantically but structurally as well. Where animate and inanimate entities are involved, the animate is understood as liking the inanimate regardless of word order or verb agreement. Where two animate entities are involved, successful encoding and decoding of the message depend on invariant word order. Thus the syntactic marking of the true object is ignored in favor of a word order convention: the object is whatever follows the verb.

The pattern of object-verb agreement for *gustar* and *encantar* can now be explained as a result of a general confusion regarding the syntactic marking of the object and interference from the English "like" construction. But what about *importar* and *interesar*? With these two verbs, even if the object markers were to be ignored, English interference would if anything reinforce the agreement of subject and verb: the closest English equivalents function exactly like the Spanish verbs in these two cases. Yet here as with *gustar,* the verb agrees with the object instead of the subject. While the data for these two verbs are less extensive than for *gustar,* two facts about their use suggest a possible explanation.

First, in free production *importar* and *interesar* are avoided in favor of the paraphrastic *ser importante a* and *estar interesado en.* Thus, they are not verbs that these students encounter with any frequency in comprehension or production. Second, syntactically these verbs are identical to *gustar:* a prepositional phrase and a clitic pronoun precede the verb and a generally inanimate noun follows it. This writer therefore suggests that object-verb agreement in these verbs occurs by analogy to *gustar,* which *is* extremely frequent, and comprehension follows the same word order constraints: the subject precedes the verb; the object follows. *Importar* would then have to be assigned a meaning something like "assign importance to" or "care about," a possibility consistent with the fact that *no me importa,* the only *importar* structure in frequent use among these students, is commonly rendered into English as "I don't care." *Interesar* would be assigned the meaning "to be interested in" or quite possibly "to interest oneself in" by analogy to the common inchoative verb *interesarse.*

Conclusion

This paper has described recent research regarding the use and comprehension of *gustar* and several other verbs of the same class by Puerto Rican and Cuban bilinguals of the New York City area. It has been suggested that the object-verb agreement characteristic of each of these verbs derives from a subject-object role reversal: the subject becomes the object and vice versa. This reversal is seen as a result of a weakening of the importance of the syntactic object markers in the construction and interference from English "like." The new *gustar* pattern is then seen to transfer to the less common verbs *importar* and *interesar.*

What should be made clear as well is that the new *gustar* pattern is not yet stable. In all cases what has been described are trends and tendencies; complete agreement among the students was a rarity on any of the tasks involved. The rules governing the use of these verbs appear complex—first and second person objects are interpreted as subjects, for example, yet do not trigger verb agreement. Usage is also extremely variable, not only from student to student, but for a single student as well. More research is clearly needed, both to decide to what extent these variations represent a unified phenomenon, and to identify the factors that contribute to it. That there is interference between English and Spanish seems evident, but also involved may be an interplay between standard and non-standard language rules of Spanish. (Interestingly enough, the three sentence pairs described earlier that elicited such dramatic differences in comprehension among the Hispanic students were not included in the overall data analysis and computation of average percentages. They were deleted from the study because a small number of the monolingual Spanish speakers also chose the wrong pictures when the word order was reversed.) Although linguists make great use of the terms "standard" and "non-standard," it may also be that the *gustar* patterns observed among Puerto Rican and Cuban Americans are more widespread in other dialects than is usually recognized.

Appendix A

Grammar Use Task:
Responses on Individual Items

Note: Judgments that correspond to standard Spanish are marked with an*.

Subject-Verb-Object Word Order	OK	NO	
2. *La gramática no les interesa a ellos.*	6*	3	PR
	3	0	Cuban
3. *La gramática no les interesan a ellos.*	7	2*	PR
	2	1	Cuban
5. *Mi vestido no les importan a ellos.*	6	3*	PR
	2	1	Cuban
6. *El dulce les encanta a los niños.*	6*	3	PR
	3	0	Cuban
8. *El juguete les gustaban a los niños.*	3	6*	PR
	2	1	Cuban
11. *La ropa no les importa.*	6*	3	PR
	3	0	Cuban
13. *El futuro no les importan.*	6	3*	PR
	0	3	Cuban
15. *Las chicas no le gustan a él.*	9*	0	PR
	3	0	Cuban
17. *Los perros no le gusta al niño.*	2	7*	PR
	1	2	Cuban
18. *Los chocolates le gusta mucho.*	1	8*	PR
	1	2	Cuban
20. *Las joyas le encantan a ella.*	8*	1	PR
	2	1	Cuban
22. *Las cosas mecánicas no le interesa a Ud.*	6	3*	PR
	2	1	Cuban
Object-Verb-Subject Word Order			
1. *A ellos les gusta la clase.*	4*	5	PR
	1	2	Cuban
4. *A ellos les importan la política.*	7	2*	PR
	1	2	Cuban

	OK	NO	
7. *A los niños no les importa la escuela.*	3*	6	PR
	3	0	Cuban
9. *A los niños les gustan el viejo hombre.*	5	4*	PR
	2	1	Cuban
10. *No les gusta mi vestido.*	5*	4	PR
	2	1	Cuban
12. *Les interesan la política.*	8	1*	PR
	2	1	Cuban
14. *A él le gustan los deportes.*	6*	3	PR
	1	2	Cuban
19. *A ella le encantan las joyas.*	8*	1	PR
	3	0	Cuban
21. *A Ud. le interesa los discos.*	8	1*	PR
	2	1	Cuban

Appendix B

Comprehension Task: Responses on Individual Items

Subject-Verb-Object Sentences	PR	Cuban	Combined Hispanic	Monolingual Spanish	
2. *La nueva vecina no les gusta a mis padres.*	6	3	9	9	Right
	10	4	14	0	Wrong
8. *Los vecinos no te gustan.*	8	6	14	8	Right
	8	1	9	0	Wrong
9. *Los hombres no le interesan a la mujer.*	6	3	9	8	Right
	10	4	14	1	Wrong
17. *Los niños le encantan a mi hermano.*	7	3	10	8	Right
	9	4	13	0	Wrong
22. *El me gusta mucho.*	13	7	20	9	Right
	3	0	3	0	Wrong
24. *Francisca les gusta.*	10	4	14	9	Right
	6	3	9	0	Wrong
28. *Ese hombre no le gusta a mi madre.*	6	4	10	9	Right
	10	3	13	0	Wrong
35. *Ella no nos gusta.*	6	6	12	9	Right
	10	1	11	0	Wrong
Object-Verb-Subject Sentences					
6. *A los chovinistas no les gusta la mujer independiente.*	9	5	14	9	Right
	7	2	9	0	Wrong
13. *No me gustan los García.*	15	6	21	8	Right
	1	1	2	1	Wrong
18. *A mis amigos les encanta mi novia.*	16	7	23	9	Right
	0	0	0	0	Wrong
20. *A Jorge no le gusta Marta.*	15	7	22	9	Right
	1	0	1	0	Wrong
27. *Al niño no le gusta el hombre.*	14	7	21	9	Right
	2	0	0	0	Wrong
29. *A ellos no les gusta la mujer.*	13	4	17	9	Right
	3	3	6	0	Wrong

	PR	Cuban	Combined Hispanic	Monolingual Spanish	
34. *Al rico no le gusta el pobre.*	13	5	18	9	Right
	3	2	5	0	Wrong
37. *A los estudiantes no les gusta el profesor.*	14	7	21	9	Right
	2	0	2	0	Wrong
39. *A los niños les encanta el abuelito.*	14	7	21	8	Right
	2	0	2	1	Wrong

Gapping as Evidence of Distinct Second Language Acquisition

Nicholas Sobin

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Special thanks are due to the people who generously participated in this study, and to Hugo Mejías, Dennis Godfrey, Salli Landers, and Corrine Steege for their helpful comments and insights. Preparation of this manuscript was partly through the resources of the Institute for Borderland Studies of Pan American University, whose support is gratefully acknowledged. The author takes full responsibility for any errors.

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Abstract

There have been many questions concerning the degree to which bilingual speakers keep their two linguistic systems separate, or confuse them. A number of recent investigations reveal a surprising degree of separation between the two syntactic systems of the bilingual. This study investigates in some detail one particular grammatical operation—gapping—which is never taught to anyone directly or systematically, and which works slightly differently in Spanish and English. It demonstrates that even very subtle differences between two systems of syntax are preserved in the languages of the bilingual speaker.

The results of the study indicate that bilinguals maintain some very subtle syntactic distinctions in the languages they command, and that generally they do not confuse their two languages. It is of absolute importance for the bilingual education practitioner to realize that the linguistic knowledge and abilities of bilingual speakers are as subtle, complex, and discriminating as those of monolingual speakers.

Introduction

Since the hypothesis that second language (L2) acquisition equals first language (L1) acquisition was advanced (Dulay and Burt, 1974), the independent acquisition of L2 syntax has been confirmed in several studies. However, the process of identifying which parts of a language may be transferred to another language, and under what circumstances, has by no means been completed. Deletion phenomena are of particular interest in this regard for a number of reasons. First, their transferability has been inadequately studied. There has been much more work done on the L2 acquisition of movement and placement rules. Further, recent syntax studies (Chomsky, 1980) separate deletion phenomena from other (movement) transformations as a subcomponent, giving additional reason to consider deletion rules as distinct from other rule types. Finally, reduced structures are seldom the object of pedagogy. They are seldom taught or focused on; as a result, they are prime targets for possible language influence or transference.

This study focuses on gapping and, in particular, one of the conditions restricting its application. Evidence presented here from bilingual speakers suggests a very subtle and untutored difference between the operation of gapping in Spanish and in English. This lends further support to the thesis that L2 syntax is acquired independently of L1 syntax, at least with respect to deletion phenomena.

Gapping and the Tendency for Subject-Predicate Interpretation

Gapping is the rule responsible for the reduction of the right conjunct in example 1a to two major elements as in 1b.

1. a. Max ordered peas, and Jill ordered beans.
    b. Max ordered peas, and Jill, beans.

Although gapping is a highly productive reduction process, there are certain types of structures to which it does not apply. In English, for example, gapping does not generally apply to example 2a (see 2b):

2. a. Max wanted Harry to wash himself, and Sheila wanted Harry to shave himself.
    b. Max wanted Harry to wash himself, and Sheila, to shave himself.

In this paper, acceptable reductions, as in example 1, or unacceptable reductions, as in example 2, will be represented as in examples 1c and 2c respectively, following Hankamer (1973):

1. c. Max ordered peas, and Jill [ordered] beans.

2. c. Max wanted Harry to wash himself, and Sheila, [wanted Harry] to shave himself.

Since Jackendoff (1971), sentences like example 2b and the reasons for their unacceptability have been the subject of much conjecture. A more recent and widely accepted analysis of the unacceptability of example 2b is that of Kuno (1976). Kuno proposes that the application of gapping is restricted by several external conditions, among them the tendency for subject-predicate interpretation (TSPI). TSPI dictates that when gapping leaves a noun phrase (NP) and a verb phrase (VP) behind, the two constituents are readily interpreted as constituting a sentential pattern, with the NP representing the subject of the VP (Kuno, 1976, p. 311). TSPI thus explains why the gap in example 2b is odd, whereas that in example 3 is much more acceptable:

3. John entered Harvard to study linguistics, and Bill, [entered Harvard] to study psychology (Kuno, 1976, p. 311).

Kuno goes on to characterize TSPI and some of the other conditions he proposes as "perceptual" and "non-syntactic" (1976, p. 317-318). Taken in its broadest sense, this characterization strongly suggests that TSPI is not specific to any certain syntactic process or for that matter to any language-particular syntax. Rather, it is a syntax-independent condition on the construal of surface or near-surface constituents which operates without regard to syntactic source.

One need not go far, however, to find data that make such a characterization questionable. In Spanish, for example, gaps as in examples 4 and 5 find acceptability given the proper pauses and intonation although they violate TSPI:[1]

4. *Max convenció a Harry que rentara un apartamento, y María [convenció a Harry] que vendiera su perro.*

5. *Jack quería que Harry se lavara, y María, [quería] que [Harry] se rasurara.*

The reduced form of example 4 seems quite acceptable in response to a question like example 6:[2]

6. *¿Quién convenció a Harry que hiciera qué?*

In contrast, there is no such context in which English sentences of this type become generally acceptable. This suggests that TSPI or the element responsible for its effect is in fact language specific and not perceptual in the non-language-specific sense mentioned above.

This result is also relevant to the question of possible language influence in the area of deletion phenomena. Given that both English and Spanish use gapping but only the former is restricted by TSPI, it is appropriate to ask whether a bilingual speaker's knowledge of the process in one language will influence his or her formulation of the analogous process in the other language.

Methodology

In order to examine the interrelationship of language influence and gapping, researchers examined the grammaticality judgments of ten bilingual speakers. The informants were students, staff, or faculty at Pan American University. All began learning Spanish at home or in their neighborhoods before attending school (first grade) and subsequently began to learn English in the first grade or studied both languages simultaneously. All of the informants claimed current, active use of each of the languages during conversations with monolingual speakers of each language. There are obviously many different language learning circumstances that might affect the outcome of the question of language influence. The circumstance here of early and simultaneous or near-simultaneous acquisition is one in which language influence might well show up, especially since the primary data for the acquisition of gapped constructions are probably limited to relatively few examples with no negative data.[3]

Framing this as a projection problem,[4] one might ask whether the subjects in question have limited themselves to the primary data in each language in formulating the syntax of gapping for that language, or whether they have been influenced by the primary data or syntax of one language in formulating the syntax of the other.

Each informant in this study was presented with twenty gapped constructions evenly divided between English and Spanish (see Figures 1a and b; the fuller forms of these items are given in Figures 1c and d respectively). Each group contains gapped constructions of three different types. The first type (items E1-E2, S1-S2) is the simple sentence gapped construction found commonly in both Spanish and English. The second type (items E3, E7, S3, S7) is a gapped construction shown in previous work to be unacceptable in both languages.[5] These two types were included in part to ensure that the informants in the context of this study would both accept items known to be acceptable and reject items known to be unacceptable. The third type (items E4-E6, E8-E10, S4-S6, S8-S10) consists of TSPI violations, the object of interest in this study. The first two items were intended to orient the informants to the process being asked about. The third item was to show them an unacceptable gapped item. The rest of the items were TSPI-relevant items except for one normally unacceptable item (item 7), which was included to see if speakers would treat it differently after having dealt with some of the TSPI items.

Figure 1a
List of English Sentences
Judged by Informants

E1 Jack ordered ham, and María, fish.

E2 Juan left at six, and Irma, at seven.

E3 Juan went to Edinburg to see Estella, and to Reynosa, María.

E4 Jack wanted Harry to wash himself, and María, to shave himself.

E5 Jaime wanted Danny to pass, and María, to fail.

E6 Juan persuaded Dr. Tomás to examine Juanita, and Bill, to examine Marta.

E7 Juan hugged his sister to please his mother, and his wife, his father.

E8 Max convinced Harry to rent an apartment, and María, to sell his dog.

E9 Bill persuaded María to plant a tree, and Max, to cut the grass.

E10 Juan convinced María to study physics, and Max, to play soccer.

Figure 1b
List of Spanish Sentences
Judged by Informants

S1 *Jack pidió jamón, y María, pescado.*

S2 *Juan se fue a las seis, e Irma, a las siete.*

S3 *Juan fue a Edinburg a ver a Estella, y a Reynosa, a María.*

S4 *Jack quería que Harry se lavara, y María, que se rasurara.*

S5 *Jaime quería que Danny pasara, y María, que fracasara.*

S6 *Juan persuadió al Dr. Tomás que examinara a Juanita, y Bill, que examinara a Marta.*

S7 *Juan abrazó a su hermana para complacer a su madre, y a su esposa, a su padre.*

S8 *Max convenció a Harry que rentara un apartamento, y María, que vendiera su perro.*

S9 *Bill persuadió a María que plantara un árbol, y Max, que cortara la hierba.*

S10 *Juan convenció a María que estudiara la física, y Max, que jugara fútbol.*

Figure 1c
Fuller Forms of the English Sentence Under Study

E1 Jack ordered ham, and María [ordered] fish.

E2 Juan left at six, and Irma [left] at seven.

E3 Juan went to Edinburg to see Estella, and to Reynosa [to see] María.

E4 Jack wanted Harry to wash himself, and María [wanted Harry] to shave himself.

E5 Jaime wanted Danny to pass, and María [wanted Danny] to fail.

E6 Juan persuaded Dr. Tomás to examine Juanita, and Bill [persuaded Dr. Tomás] to examine Marta.

E7 Juan hugged his sister to please his mother, and his wife [to please] his father.

E8 Max convinced Harry to rent an apartment, and María [convinced Harry] to sell his dog.

E9 Bill persuaded María to plant a tree, and Max [persuaded María] to cut the grass.

E10 Juan convinced María to study physics, and Max [convinced María] to play soccer.

Figure 1d
Fuller Forms of the Spanish Sentences Under Study

S1 *Jack pidió jamón, y María [pidió] pescado.*

S2 *Juan se fue a las seis, e Irma [se fue] a las siete.*

S3 *Juan fue a Edinburg a ver a Estella, y a Reynosa [a ver] a María.*

S4 *Jack quería que Harry se lavara, y María [quería] que [Harry] se rasurara.*

S5 *Jaime quería que Danny pasara, y María [quería] que [Danny] fracasara.*

S6 *Juan persuadió al Dr. Tomás que examinara a Juanita, y Bill [persuadió al Dr. Tomás] que examinara a Marta.*

S7 *Juan abrazó a su hermana para complacer a su madre, y a su esposa [para complacer] a su padre.*

S8 *Max convenció a Harry que rentara un apartamento, y María [convenció a Harry] que vendiera su perro.*

S9 *Bill persuadió a María que plantara un árbol, y Max [persuadió a María] que cortara la hierba.*

S10 *Juan convenció a María que estudiara la física, y Max [convenció a María] que jugara fútbol.*

Figure 1e
Context-specifying Questions used in Judging the Acceptability of the Sentences in Figures 1a and b

E1 Who ordered what?
E2 Who left when?
E3 Where did Juan go to see who(m)?
E4 Who wanted Harry to do what?
E5 Who wanted Danny to do what?
E6 Who persuaded Dr. Tomás to examine who(m)?
E7 Who(m) did Juan hug to please who(m)?
E8 Who convinced Harry to do what?
E9 Who persuaded María to do what?
E10 Who convinced María to do what?
S1 *¿Quién pidió qué?*
S2 *¿Quién se fue y cuándo?*
S3 *¿A dónde fue Juan a ver a quién?*
S4 *¿Quién quería que Harry hiciera qué?*
S5 *¿Quién quería que Danny hiciera qué?*
S6 *¿Quién persuadió al Dr. Tomás que examinara a quién?*
S7 *¿Quién abrazó a Juan para complacer a quién?*
S8 *¿Quién convenció a Harry que hiciera qué?*
S9 *¿Quién persuadió a María que hiciera qué?*
S10 *¿Quién convenció a María que hiciera qué?*

Each informant was interviewed individually. The informant was told that he or she would be asked to judge how natural certain sentences sounded—that is, whether they sounded "okay" (perfectly natural; someone could use the sentence in conversation to convey the intended meaning); "questionable"; or "bad" (very unnatural; no one would ever say it this way). The informant was also assured that this was simply a survey of people's judgments about the sentences in question and that there were no right or wrong answers. Then the informant was given a written list of the gapped constructions first in English (items E1-E10 of Figure 1a) and later in Spanish (items S1-S10 of Figure 1b). For each gapped sentence, the informant was read a context question to which the gapped construction might be an answer. The questions for each item are given in Figure 1e. In item E1, for example, the informant was presented first with the question

"Who ordered what?"; was read the gapped sentence under consideration; and was asked to judge it as okay, questionable, or bad. The same procedure was followed for each question-gapped sentence pair. As the interview proceeded, the informant was free to discuss any item and to return to any previous item for reconsideration. After the elicitation of the linguistic data, background facts were gathered.

Discussion

Figure 2 shows the percentage of informants judging each gapped construction as fully acceptable ("okay"). Items S1-S10 and E1-E10 refer to each of the items from Figure 1a and b. Figure 3 shows the percentage of informants judging each gapped construction as completely unacceptable (bad).

As these figures indicate, the simple gaps (items S1-S2, E1-E2) were fully acceptable to all of the informants in both languages. The gapped constructions known to be unacceptable (items S3, S7, E3, E7) were accepted in a few instances but were by and large judged to be questionable or completely unacceptable, even in the context of being a response to an unambiguous question. With the TSPI-relevant items (S4-S6, S8-10, E4-E6, E8-10), the informants appeared generally to treat the Spanish constructions differently from the corresponding English constructions. While acceptance of these constructions in Spanish was uniformly high, the English constructions were generally judged as less than fully acceptable. There is no explanation for the relatively high acceptability of item E4 in this group. It is worth noting, however, that of the TSPI violations, item E4 also had the second highest rejection rate (Figure 3). Though at first glance one

Figure 2

Informants Judging Each Item Fully Acceptable (percentage)

Item	Acceptance	Item	Acceptance
S1	100%	E1	100%
S2	100	E2	100
S3	30	E3	10
S4	90	E4	60
S5	100	E5	10
S6	90	E6	20
S7	20	E7	20
S8	100	E8	30
S9	80	E9	30
S10	90	E10	10

Figure 3

Informants Judging Each Item Completely Unacceptable (percentage)

Item	Acceptance	Item	Acceptance
S1	—	E1	—
S2	—	E2	—
S3	20%	E3	60%
S4	—	E4	30
S5	—	E5	40
S6	—	E6	20
S7	60	E7	50
S8	—	E8	10
S9	—	E9	20
S10	—	E10	20

might be tempted to assign the relatively high level of acceptance of item E4 to the influence of Spanish, it is not clear just what the basis for this influence would be, since the other five TSPI-relevant items show much more distinct behavior.

Figure 4 shows the result of averaging the fully acceptable judgments for each of the three major gapping types considered here, the simple gaps (items S1-S2, E1-E2), the known unacceptable gaps or violations of the requirement for simplex-sentential relationship (RSSR) (items S3, S7, E3, E7), and the TSPI violations (items S4-S6, S8-S10, E4-E6, E8-E10).

Figure 4

Judgment of Full Acceptability for Each General Gapping Type (average percentage)

Gapping Type	Spanish	English
Simple gaps (items 1-2)	100.0%	100.0%
RSSR violations (items 3, 7)	25.0%	15.0%
TSPI violations (items 4-6, 8-10)	91.67%	26.67%

Of a total of sixty acceptability judgments made by the group concerning Spanish gapped sentences that violate TSPI, fifty-five, or 91.67 percent, were in the fully acceptable category. Of the same number of judgments made about English gapped sentences that violate TSPI, sixteen of sixty, or 26.67 percent, fell in the fully acceptable category. As Kuno and others have pointed out, individual variation in judgments about gapped sentences is common; therefore, some variance in the judgments is to be expected. Given this, these figures strongly suggest a separate treatment of gapping by these bilingual speakers in each language in accord with monolingual judgments about such sentences in each language.

Because the sample was small, the data here are not sufficient to generalize these proportions of acceptability to a large specific population. However, the data do show that at least for some speakers variance occurs in ways not predicted by Kuno's perceptual analysis of TSPI. Further, the bilinguals studied here did not simply transfer judgments from one language to the other, but showed marked differences in their perceptions about acceptable gapped constructions in each.

Conclusion

Gapped sentences are not the object of any systematic, traditional grammatical study. Their syntax has only been considered in detail in the last fifteen years. Speakers who learn their syntax must base that syntax on whatever positive primary data they are exposed to, since existing studies of language acquisition do not note any overproduction of incorrect gapped constructions which would lead to the opportunity for correction. If there is an "unsupervised" part of syntactic development, this is it. Consequently, if it is possible for the syntax or syntactic data of one language to influence the language learner's development of the syntax of another in the area of deletion phenomena, the syntax of gapped constructions would seem to be a prime target for such influence. However, the above results reveal no systematic signs of language influence, at least for the bilingual group studied here. The intuitions of these bilingual speakers seem to be in general compliance with the different workings of each of the languages regarding gapping, especially with respect to TSPI. That these informants could retain so subtle a difference suggests a high degree of separation of the two language systems for the speakers. In terms of information available to the language acquisition device for formulating the syntax of a given language, the findings here suggest that the language acquisition device is sensitive only to the primary data for that language and does not as a general strategy use data or analyses that the learner may hear or have formulated for another language.

Also, the findings of this study render questionable Kuno's characterization of conditions such as TSPI as perceptual, nonsyntactic, and subject mostly to individual or idiolectal variation (Kuno, 1976, p. 313, 317-318).

In this study, the largest variations in the treatment of TSPI occurred not between individuals but between languages and within the bilingual individual, suggesting a much stronger language-specific and syntax-specific basis for TSPI.

Notes

1. Such possibilities were first pointed out to the author by Lucía Elías-Olivares (personal communication).
2. As Kuno (1976, p. 308) points out, contextualization such as an introductory question is sometimes necessary to determine the acceptability of a particular gapped construction, since the applicability of gapping is limited to those cases where the remaindered elements represent "new information," frequently a context-dependent notion.
3. For example, see Peñalosa's comments on the *compound bilingual* (1975, p. 165-166). Haugen (1956, p. 11) also discusses the great potential for language mixing in the bilingual.
4. For an interesting discussion of the projection problem see Baker (1979).
5. In particular, these gaps violate another condition proposed by Kuno, the requirement for simplex-sentential relationship (RSSR) (1976, p. 314) which basically requires that the two elements remaindered by gapping be from the same simplex sentence. For another discussion of this condition, see Sobin (1980).

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Foreign Interference and Code-Switching in the Contemporary Judeo-Spanish of New York

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Abstract

According to Sala (1961), the disintegration of a language, as reflected in the lexicon, can be seen more clearly as the number of words diminishes. This decrease in lexical items often results in frequent borrowing from another language or languages; such contacts eventually replace the original language. In order to obtain information on the state of Judeo-Spanish in the United States today, a study was conducted during the summer of 1978 to determine the extent of foreign interference in the lexicon of the language as spoken by subjects in New York City. Information on vocabulary representing various semantic fields was elicited and also obtained through samples of free conversation.

A distinction was made between the foreign influences characteristic of Judeo-Spanish that have been integrated into the language and those foreign words that are currently *replacing* Judeo-Spanish terms and that were not present in the language before the first half of the twentieth century (when the Sephardic Jews began emigrating from the Balkans to the United States).

The data show extensive language interference from both English and modern standard Spanish. The informants generally used words from these languages when they could not remember the correct Judeo-Spanish terms. Examples of the interference, as well as sociological and linguistic reasons for it, are presented. Discrepancies between the word list and free conversation samples are also discussed.

Code-switching was quite prevalent in the speech of all the informants and can be considered one of the salient characteristics of the Judeo-Spanish of New York today. This code-switching is discussed and various examples are presented.

Introduction

Even though all aspects of a language are subject to decay, it is in the lexicon that the process of disintegration of a language is seen with greater clarity (Sala, 1961). Disintegration becomes apparent as the number of words diminishes, often resulting in frequent borrowing from other in-contact languages that eventually replace the original language. In order to obtain information on the state of the Judeo-Spanish language today in North America, this researcher conducted a study in the summer of 1978 (Harris, 1979). This paper is a discussion of the extent of other-language interference in the lexicon of Judeo-Spanish as spoken by informants presently living in New York City.

In the case of Judeo-Spanish, a distinction must be made between the foreign influences that are characteristic of the language—what Mackey refers to as integration into the code (Mackey, 1970)—versus the foreign interference that becomes more prevalent as Judeo-Spanish is replaced by one or more languages.

The influences in Judeo-Spanish that are an integral part of the language come from three main sources:

- Semitic languages that include the Hebrew-Aramaic component as well as influences from Arabic

- Romance languages that include words from the various Iberian dialects plus a great number of lexical items from French and Italian

- Balkan languages that consist mainly of Turkish elements as well as Greek words and Slavic influences such as Serbo-Croatian and Bulgarian, depending on the Judeo-Spanish dialect being spoken.

The Semitic, Romance, and Balkan elements have been part of the Judeo-Spanish language for centuries, and many of the informants were aware of the origins of several common Judeo-Spanish words. For example, informants often reported in the word elicitation that words like *konduria* (shoe), *musafir* (guest), *karpuz* (watermelon), and *buchuk* (twin) were Turkish; while *chabat* (Saturday) and *kal* (synagogue) were from Hebrew; *alhad* (Sunday) was Arabic; and *chans* (luck) was of French origin.

On the other hand, foreign words that were not present in the language before the first half of this century (when the Sephardic Jews began emigrating from the Balkans to the United States) are rapidly replacing Judeo-Spanish words. The informants used these words when they could no longer remember—or never knew—the correct Judeo-Spanish terms. Information concerning this type of foreign interference was obtained by eliciting vocabulary as well as collecting samples of free conversation from the informants.

Methodology

This study discusses twenty-eight informants from New York City who ranged from thirty-eight to eighty-six years of age. Twenty-four of the informants, or 86 percent, were fifty years old or above. The informants originated from Salonika and other Greek cities; Istanbul, Izmir, and other Turkish cities; Monastir (Bitola), Yugoslavia; and various cities in Bulgaria and Rhodes. A few were born in New York of parents from one or more of the above-mentioned Balkan regions.

In order to get a more general vocabulary base, the word list consisted of 130 words representing the following semantic fields: names of family members; articles of clothing; religious objects and ritual; professions; places of business; institutions; official/governmental vocabulary; vocabulary concerning nature, foods, time, rooms, and household objects; descriptive and attributive adjectives; common infinitives; and miscellaneous items. The words were given in English (or French in a couple of cases) and the informants were asked to respond with the correct word in Judeo-Spanish, if possible.

In order to differentiate between the foreign influences that are an integral part of Judeo-Spanish and the foreign interference that is contributing to the decay of the language, the informants' responses were analyzed according to:

- The words found in the *Dictionnaire du Judéo-Espagnol* (Nehama, 1977). This dictionary is the most complete Judeo-Spanish dictionary published to date from a scientific-linguistic viewpoint, and contains both phonetic/phonological and etymological data. The dictionary is theoretically a dictionary of the Salonika dialect; however, it does include well-known terms from other dialects.
- Other written sources.
- Information obtained from interviews that concerned words commonly found in other dialects.

In this study the informant responses not found in Nehama's dictionary, as well as those not found to be popular terms in other dialects, are considered as words resulting from foreign interference.

Discussion

Results of the data collected from the word elicitation show extensive interference from English and modern Spanish in the Judeo-Spanish of New York. Since English is the national language of the United States and is considered to be the most prestigious language in terms of professional advancement, it is easy to understand its powerful impact on all immigrant languages. The Spanish used by Puerto Ricans and other Spanish-speaking groups also has great influence on the Judeo-Spanish spoken in New York. This is due mainly to the similarity of the two languages and the daily contact of the Sephardim with Spanish speakers in certain work and school situations. According to the attitude questionnaire used in another part of this study, most of the informants considered modern Spanish to be a much more prestigious language than Judeo-Spanish. This is because many informants did not consider Judeo-Spanish to be a "pure" or "real" form of Spanish like that spoken by the Puerto Ricans and other Spanish speakers in New York. The majority of informants also felt that they could not speak Judeo-Spanish very well.

There is minimal interference from French and Hebrew. The existing French interference stems from two main sources:

- French served as a cultural "lingua franca" for the speakers of various languages throughout the Balkans.

- Many Sephardim from the Balkans were educated in French-speaking schools during the last half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century.

Figure 1 shows examples of frequent interference from English in Judeo-Spanish, as revealed in the word elicitation component of the study. The Judeo-Spanish word is given in the left column, the informants' responses are in the middle column, and the English translation is in the right column.

Figure 2 shows examples of lexical interference from modern Spanish in the Judeo-Spanish of New York, also revealed by word elicitation. The Judeo-Spanish word is in the left column followed by the informants' responses, then the English translation is in the right column.

There is also phonological interference from modern Spanish. Judeo-Spanish has retained many of the sounds characteristic of medieval Spanish. For example, the old Spanish palatal fricative phoneme [z] did not become the voiceless velar spirant [x] sound, as in the words *mujer* and *hijo,* until the end of the seventeenth century. Also, the old Spanish distinctions between s/z and b/v were not lost until the beginning and end of the sixteenth century, respectively. The above sound changes are just a few that occurred in the language after the Sephardim left Spain in 1492 and lost total contact with the Iberian Peninsula. Thus the correct Judeo-Spanish pronunciation should retain the older sounds. However, because of the contact between Judeo-Spanish and modern Spanish, many of the words in the speech of the New York informants have taken on the modern Spanish pronunciation.

Figure 3 shows examples of phonological interference from modern Spanish. The Judeo-Spanish word and the informants' responses are rep-

Figure 1

Interference from English in the Judeo-Spanish of New York

Judeo-Spanish Word	Most Frequently Offered Response—English Word	English Meaning
rav, rabino	rabbi	rabbi
maestro, profesor	teacher	teacher
charshi, bazar	marketa*	market
bet ahayim	cemetery	cemetery
tutun	tobacco	tobacco
pastel, pasta	cake	cake, sweet
portokal	orange (fruit)	orange
tejado, tavan	roof	roof, ceiling
tabaka, piano	floor (building)	floor
kibrites, parlakes	matches	matches
tadrada, motchada	party	party

*English word with a Spanish ending.

Figure 2

Interference from Modern Spanish in the Judeo-Spanish of New York

Judeo-Spanish Word	Most Frequently Offered Modern Spanish Word	English Meaning
butika, magazen	tienda	store
hazino	enfermo	sick
meldar	leer	to read
lavorar	trabajar	to work
merkar	comprar	to buy
chabat	sábado	Saturday
alhad	domingo	Sunday
buz	hielo, helado	ice
portokal	naranja	orange (fruit)
piron	tenedor	fork
kibrites, parlakes	fósforos	matches
ma	pero	but (conjunction)

Figure 3

Phonological Interference from Modern Spanish in the Judeo-Spanish of the Informants

Phonetic Representation of Judeo-Spanish Word	Phonetic Representation of Modern Spanish Word (Most Frequently Offered Response)	Modern Spanish Word	English Meaning
[ižo, fižo]	[ixo]	hijo	son
[mužer]	[muxer]	mujer	woman
[kaleža]	[kayexa]	calleja	street, lane
[inteližente]	[intelixente]	inteligente	intelligent
[kaša]	[kaxa]	caja	box
[ermoza]	[ermosa]	hermosa	pretty
[roza]	[rosa]	rosa	rose
[kezo]	[keso]	queso	cheese
[meza]	[mesa]	mesa	table
[livro]	[libro]	libro	book
[estava]	[estaba]	estaba	was
[agora]	[aora]	ahora	now
[munčo]	[mučo]	mucho	much
[eskola]	[eskwela]	escuela	school
[čintura]	[sintura]	cintura	belt

Source: Word elicitation.

resented phonetically followed by the modern Spanish word and its English meaning.

While Figures 1, 2, and 3 show only the most frequent instances of English and modern Spanish interference, they do give an idea of the types of interference present in the lexicon of New York Judeo-Spanish. Because this researcher could not get an equal number of informants of different ages, it was not possible to correlate word elicitation responses with the age of the informants. From studies such as those of Dorian (1973), Fasold (1975), and others, it can be presumed that a large number of informants under the age of fifty or forty would exhibit a substantially higher number of foreign words in their responses than would older informants. It must be pointed out, however, that it is almost impossible to find native Judeo-Spanish speakers today under the age of forty who can still converse in the language.

Besides the word elicitation activities, the twenty-eight informants also took part in interviews for obtaining samples of free conversation. The free speech samples ranged from three to fifteen minutes each, the majority falling into the eight-minute range. The informants were asked to speak in Judeo-Spanish about their childhoods, their arrivals in New York City, their jobs, or their families.

The analysis of the free conversation samples shows two interesting phenomena: discrepencies between the word list and free conversation samples, and code-switching.

In the first case, the words given in certain word elicitations and those used in the speech samples did not agree. This was probably due to the fact that when vocabulary was elicited, the informants had a chance to think about the correct Judeo-Spanish words that were used by them or by family members in the past. In their conversations, on the other hand, the informants did not have the time to consciously make such choices. As a result, the speech samples present a more realistic picture of Judeo-Spanish today and show the extent of interference that has affected the language. Modern standard Spanish was the source of most of the discrepancies found in the word elicitation versus the speech samples.

Figure 4 lists some of the modern Spanish words found in the free conversation samples of various informants along with the corresponding Judeo-Spanish terms that they gave in the word elicitation. This modern Spanish interference is quite prevalent in the speech of many informants who are generally not aware that they are using modern Spanish words instead of Judeo-Spanish words.

In the case of code-switching, the free conversation samples show the same type of interference that is present in the word elicitation: that is, lexical interference mainly from English and modern Spanish. The English interference results in a large degree of code-switching, a very common phenomenon in the speech of the informants. In the majority of cases the code-switching consists of one or two foreign words (mostly English words in these examples) inserted into a Judeo-Spanish sentence and pronounced as they are in the other language (English). Some examples are:

- *Tomamos* sandwiches. (Let's take sandwiches.)
- *Salimos al* hall. (We went out into the hall.)
- *Estavan* delicious. (They were delicious.)
- The middle one was in a play *la otra semana.* (The middle one—grandchild—was in a play the other week.)
- *Es* hard to take. (It's hard to take.)

Figure 4

Discrepancies between the Word Elicitation and Free Conversation Samples: Interference from Modern Spanish

Correct Judeo-Spanish Word Given in the Word Elicitation	Modern Spanish Word Given in the Free Conversation	English Meaning
hazino	enfermo	sick
lavorar	trabajar	to work
meldar	leer	to read
eskapar, akavar	terminar	to finish
merkar	comprar	to buy
kamareta, oda	cuarto	room
chabat	sábado	Saturday
tutun	tabaco	tobacco
butika	tienda	store
dyó	dios	God
ma	pero	but (conjunction)

In the above examples the words *sandwiches, hall, delicious, the middle one, play,* and *hard to take* are pronounced as they are in English.

Another type of code-switching occurs when a foreign word is inserted into the speech but is given a Judeo-Spanish ending, as in:

- *Los kayes yenos de puschcartes.* (The streets full of pushcarts.) Here, the English word *pushcart* has been given the Spanish plural *-es* ending.
- *Vo retornar aki.* (I am going to return here.) Here, *retorn* is a variation on the English word which has been given the Spanish *-ar* infinitive ending.

In other cases, the English plural formation is added to the Judeo-Spanish or French word, as in:

- *Los buros eran aya.* (The offices were there.) Here, a variation of the French word *bureau* is given the English plural *-s* ending.
- *komunidads* (communities) and *universidads* (universities). Here, the Spanish words take the English plural *-s* instead of the correct Spanish plural *-es* ending.

Below are a few examples of code-switching that occurred in the conversation of the informants. In each case the interfering English word was uttered with the correct English pronunciation. The English words or phrases are set in roman typeface and the English translation of the sentence is written in parentheses. The instances are divided according to general categories.

1. Dates and Proper Names
   - *Mos kazimos* July 16, 1921. (We were married July 16, 1921.)
   - *Mos fuimos a* South America. (We went to South America.)
   - *Todos avlan ladino o* Arabic. (Everyone speaks Ladino or Arabic.)
2. Names of concepts or objects that did not exist in the Balkans
   - *Mos etchamos en el* fire escape *para tomar un poco de aire.* (We lay down on the fire escape to get a little air.)
   - *Una prima mía morava* downtown. (A cousin of mine lived downtown.)
   - *Trajo el* tape recorder. (She brought the tape recorder.)
   - *Komo tenía sech anios entré en* public school. (Since I was six years old I entered public school.)
   - . . . *no una kaza, un* apartment building. (. . . not a house, an apartment building.)
3. Names of Places that the Informants Did Not Know in Judeo-Spanish or Did Not Choose to Use
   - *El* toilet *estava en el* hall. (The toilet was in the hall.)
   - *Fuimos para ver este* farm. (We went to see this farm.)
   - *Estuvimos afuera en la* garden. (We were outside in the garden.)
   - *Mi padre kompro un* barber shop. (My father bought a barber shop.)
   - . . . *asperando kon* "next" *para entrar al* bathroom. (. . . waiting for "next" to enter the bathroom.)
4. Descriptive Adjectives that the Informants Did Not Know or Did Not Choose to Use
   - *Es* different. (It's different.)
   - *Era profesor de escuela* de* retarded children. (He was a schoolteacher of retarded children.)**Escuela* is an example of interference from modern Spanish. The correct Judeo-Spanish word is *eskola.*
   - *Era* terrible, disgusting. (It was terrible, disgusting.)

5. Other General Terms or Words

- *Tengo muchos buenos* memories. (I have many good memories.)
- *Mozotros teníamos banio,* steam and hot water. (We had a bath, steam, and hot water.)
- *No tenemos* paper. (We don't have paper.)
- *Mozotros dizimos* "good-bye" *a l'eskalera.* (We said "good-bye" on the stairs.)
- *Tuvimos un* party. (We had a party.)
- Sand *no es bueno para ti.* (Sand is not good for you.)

6. Expressions, Prepositions, and Conjunctions

- *Aora,* you know, *no estan aki.* (Now, you know, they are not here.) *Aora* is an example of interference from modern Spanish. The correct Judeo-Spanish term is *agora.*
- So, *vine aki.* (So, I came here.)
- *Avlan espanyol,* not *ladino.* (They speak Spanish, not Ladino).
- Just recently, *estava* Off Broadway. (Just recently he was Off Broadway.)
- *Akavidate,* believe me, *es verdad.* (I assure/warn you, believe me, it's true.)
- *Este kortijo fue destruyido* during *el tiempo de la gerra.* (This *kortijo* was destroyed during the time of the war.)

Three examples of code-switching in which two or more interfering languages are used in the same sentence are:

> *Mi padre avlo en ingles pero kon* a heavy accent.
> (My father spoke English but with a heavy accent.) Note the use of *pero* (modern Spanish word instead of the Judeo-Spanish *ma*) and *a heavy accent* (English).
>
> *Fue en un bicyclette a la tienda de Mr. Barash.*
> (I went by bike to Mr. Barash's store.) Note *bicyclette* (French); *tienda* (modern Spanish); and *Mr.* (English).
>
> *Lo transfiraron a una escuela en Harlem kon tchicos mucho mas tchicos de los ke tenia* and retarded *tambien,* so *él dicho ke no keria trabajar kon este modo de tchicos porke* he had to sort of babysit for them. (They transferred him to a school in Harlem with children much younger than those he had and retarded also, so he said that he didn't want to work with this kind of children because he had to sort of babysit for them.)

> Note *transfiraron* (English verb *transfer* with Spanish endings); *escuela* (modern Spanish word instead of the Judeo-Spanish *eskola*); *and retarded* (English); *so* (English; *trabajar* (modern Spanish word instead of the correct Judeo-Spanish *lavorar*); and *he had to sort of babysit for them* (English).

The above examples illustrate the extent of foreign interference in the Judeo-Spanish spoken by the informants and gives a clearer picture of the state of the language today in New York. This author only presented a few examples and did not quote sentences that were expressed totally in English or modern Spanish. For the most part, the interference from English and modern Spanish appears in situations where common, everyday vocabulary is used when the object or concept did not exist in the lives of the Sephardim in the Balkans before emigration to New York.

All twenty-eight informants from New York who gave free conversation samples constantly resorted to code-switching. This means that for 100 percent of the informants (the majority of whom were above age fifty) code-switching is very common. One would conclude that code-switching as described above has become one of the dominant characteristics of Judeo-Spanish speech today as spoken by the New York informants.

In New York City, Judeo-Spanish is being replaced by English. One sign of this is that it is almost impossible to find a native Judeo-Spanish speaker under the age of forty who can still converse in the language. Judeo-Spanish is thus not being passed on by the child-bearing generation to its children. With the passing away of the older generations, the language of the Sephardim will disappear as a living language used for daily communication. The great amount of foreign interference and code-switching in the case of Judeo-Spanish is one indication that the language is in a state of decline and is being replaced by English.

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Code-Shifting Patterns in Chicano Spanish

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Research for this paper was supported in part by a grant from the Chicano Studies Research Center, Institute of American Cultures, University of California, Los Angeles. The author is grateful to them for their support. The author would also like to thank the following people: Susan Ervin-Tripp for her comments on an earlier version of this paper; Benji Wald for his time and insightful discussion of some of the issues dealt with in this paper (it is he who suggested the term *code-shifting* to differentiate the type of language alternation studied here from the alternation referred to as code-switching); and Shana Poplack for her discussion of this paper after it was presented at the conference in Chicago—she is not responsible, of course, for the author's interpretation of her work on code-switching.

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Abstract

This paper analyzes the alternative use of Spanish and English by eight Chicano bilingual adolescents. This language phenomenon has been referred to in the literature as *code-switching* and has been defined as the use of two or more languages by one speaker in the same turn of speech or at turn-taking points. The type of switching discussed in this presentation occurs when the bilingual speaker chooses to communicate in the language in which he or she interacts less frequently in order to adapt to the language preference of the listener. This type of code-switching is shown to be different from the one that has been dealt with in some of the literature on the issue: it is frequently preceded by editing phenomena (e.g., pauses, hesitation, and repetition) and in some cases it violates the grammatical rules of the languages involved. Therefore, the author suggests that the type of code-switching that represents a mode of communication within a community and is characteristic of speakers who have control of both languages should be differentiated from the language phenomenon that occurs when speakers also use the language in which they are less proficient. The term *code-shifting* will be used here to refer to this particular phenomenon.

The author shows that code-shifting fulfills an important function: to compensate for the insufficient knowledge of one of the languages. On the other hand, code-shifting demonstrates the speaker's ability to resort to another linguistic code in order to convey his or her message more precisely, more effectively, and more personally.

The entrance of English-speaking people into the U.S. Southwest in the nineteenth century created a situation of language contact which led to the development of Spanish-English bilingual communities. Currently, in the Mexican American community of West Los Angeles, for example, the parents are usually Spanish monolinguals, though the father often knows enough English to get along at work. The children learn Spanish as their first language, but because they are embedded in an English-speaking community and receive most of their schooling in English, they soon become bilingual in English and Spanish. By the end of high school many have lost much of their ability to communicate in Spanish.

In studying the linguistic behavior of English-dominant bilingual adolescents when speaking with Spanish-dominant members of their community, including their elders, code-switching turned out to be one of the characteristic features of interaction. Consequently, the factors that triggered the switches were examined. The starting hypothesis was that the adolescents would switch to English—their dominant language—in order to achieve special effects in speech.

The results of the research confirmed the hypothesis: speakers frequently switch into English when they reach a high degree of personal involvement with the events or to offer some external evaluation of the

events. Furthermore, the analysis indicated that code-shifting occurs to fill in memory lapses and to compensate for the lack of certain lexical items and syntactic constructions.

The findings about the syntax and function of code-shifting are of value to bilingual education and educators because they shed light on the question of the linguistic behavior of bilinguals and provide a frame of reference to determine degrees of bilingual dominance/proficiency.

Introduction

This paper analyzes the alternate use of Spanish and English by eight Chicano bilingual adolescents. This language phenomenon, referred to in the literature as code-switching, has been defined as the use of two or more languages by one speaker in the same turn of speech or at turn-taking points. The code-switching discussed here represents a situation in which the bilingual speaker employs his or her less frequently used language in order to adapt or respond to the language preference of the listener.

This type of code-switching appears to be qualitatively and quantitatively different from that already dealt with in the literature on the issue (see Poplack, 1978, 1979, on Puerto Rican English-Spanish switching). It is frequently preceded by "editing" phenomena; it violates the equivalence constraint (Poplack, 1978, 1979). On the whole, its contribution to conversational meaning appears to be limited. The type of code-switching that represents a discourse mode within a speech community and is characteristic of balanced bilinguals should therefore be differentiated from the language switching phenomenon studied here. In order to keep these two phenomena apart, the term *code-switching* will be used only for the former and *code-shifting*, for the latter—i.e., for the type of language alternation characterized in this paper.

Previous Studies of Code-Switching

Previous studies of code-switching have addressed both the question of linguistic constraints on the occurrence of a switch and the function of the language switch. Investigators have tried to determine the possibility of predicting code-switches, as well as the manner in which code-switching constrains the process of conversational inference and its contribution to conversational meaning. Both external social factors and internal linguistic factors have been shown to have an effect on the occurrence of code-switching.

Among the social factors identified as prompting language switches are the setting, the participants, and the topic. It seems that setting more often triggers the use of one or another language, without internal switches. For example, a Mexican American adult may speak Spanish at home, with friends, and usually also in church, but use English at work. However, if in any of these settings a Spanish or English monolingual enters the conversation, the language may be switched accordingly. This appears to indicate that the participants in the speech event, rather than topic, constitute a stronger social constraint on the occurrence of code-switching. This claim derives quite naturally from the main function of language as a means of social communication: even if the topic were to trigger switching, the speaker would consciously suppress it in a situation where it would create a communication breakdown.

Most studies of code-switching agree that it is very difficult to know what it is that cues switching, although intuitively it is felt that switches are not random. Ervin-Tripp makes an even stronger claim and states that "language alternations are never random" (1970, p. 121). This claim seems to be too strong, and, in any case, almost impossible to prove empirically. There is, in fact, a very high index of individual variation in switch patterns. Some speakers switch by topic, others do not; even with speakers who do switch by topic, it is not always possible to predict whether a switch will occur with a given topic.

The need for more extensive and detailed research is recognized by Gumperz (1976) in his study of the sociolinguistic significance of conversational code-switches. He reports on a study of a number of conversational exchanges containing code-switching passages with the purpose of identifying the conversational function that switching may have.

Gumperz starts with the assumption that code-switching is not a matter of idiosyncratic behavior, but that it is motivated by some regular stylistic and metaphorical considerations. He identifies the following functions of switching:

- *Encoding quotations and reported speech.* Frequently—but not always—direct quotations and reconstructed speech are reported in the language in which they were originally encoded.

- *Addressee specification.* A switch may serve to direct a message to one of several possible addressees.

- *Interjections.* Gumperz considers interjections and sentence fillers as code-switches. However, this writer contends that they are borrowings, predictable in the speech of each individual.

- *Repetitions.* These may have various purposes, such as clarification or simply amplification or emphasis of the message.

- *Message qualification.* Gumperz assigns this function to switches that occur when part of the message has already been expressed in the other code. Rather than a function, this may be a statement of a fact which has to be further investigated in order to determine why it occurs.

- *Personalization versus objectivization.* Gumperz recognizes that in many instances function is difficult to specify. He subsumes all these cases under the heading "personalization and objectivization" on the premise that the switches seem to mark this distinction in speech.

An analysis of the database for the current investigation shows that all the functions proposed by Gumperz are also valid for Chicano switching, with varying degrees of frequency. However, we are still unable to predict the probability of occurrence of a switch even given the necessary functional and pragmatic conditions.

Gumperz acknowledges the complexity of the issue when he points out that his proposed functional categories are only rough labels for a large class of stylistic and semantic phenomena. He concludes that while it may be impossible to predict code-switch occurrence, it may be possible to examine what type of pragmatic information switching conveys beyond the propositional content of the conversational passage.

Hatch (1973) also tries to determine why and for what purpose people switch language codes. She proposes that the main reason is that "it sounds better," and "it adds color to the speech and makes for better storytelling," —i.e., the achievement of rhetorical effect would be the main motivation for shifting codes. The speaker's ability to use code-switching as a rhetorical device is called *tone.* Tone is achieved by means of various switching patterns, roughly the same as those identified by Gumperz: repetitions, quotations, formulaic expressions, tags, and proverbs. Hatch contends that speakers use these devices to express affection or to emphasize or contrast the switched passages. Her arguments, however, appear to be somewhat vague and circular, mainly because she does not define what she means by *contrast* or *emphasis* independently of the function of the switch. On the other hand, on the basis of personal experience and interactions with other code-switchers, this writer intuitively agrees that bilinguals switch codes because one or the other language offers a "more colorful," "more emotive," or more concise way of conveying a message.

The syntactic points at which switching may occur have also been the object of research. Gumperz offers the following generalization: "Switching is blocked where it violates the speakers' feeling for what on syntactic or semantic grounds must be regarded as a single unit" (1976, p. 36). A more precise analysis has been done by Sankoff and Poplack (1980), who have quantified the probability of occurrence of the switches at various constituent boundaries. Furthermore, Poplack (1978, 1979) has proposed two structural constraints on the occurrence of code-switching: the free morpheme and the equivalence constraints. The free morpheme constraint states that codes may not be switched between bound morphemes; the equivalence constraint states that codes may not be switched at points where the structures in L1 and L2 are nonequivalent, i.e., at points where the syntactic rules of either language may be violated.

The following discussion presents an analysis of instances of code-shifting (CS-2) with the purpose of investigating: (1) why CS-2 occurs—that is, what the functional or pragmatic value of CS-2 may be; and (2) whether the structural constraints proposed for other sets of data are satisfied by the Chicano data.

The Data

The data for this study consist of approximately eight hours of tape-recorded speech from eight Chicano bilingual speakers from Los Angeles ranging between fourteen and nineteen years of age. A total of 455 codeshifts produced by four of the speakers was analyzed quantitatively. The rest of the sample was analyzed selectively; i.e., only those tokens that were pertinent to the two issues being investigated were considered.

The speakers were selected according to the following criteria:

1. They should be of Mexican descent.
2. Their ages should range between fourteen and nineteen years.
3. They should either have been born in the United States or come to the United States at preschool age.
4. They should not have had any formal schooling in Spanish.
5. They should be able to converse in Spanish.

The recordings were part of a project to study aspects of the Spanish grammar of Chicano bilingual adolescents with no formal instruction in Spanish. The sessions were conducted in Spanish, but the speakers were aware of the fact that the interviewers were bilingual in Spanish and English.

The Hypothesis

Granted the above criteria for selecting speakers, this writer hypothesized that the speakers would be less competent or fluent in Spanish than in English. She also hypothesized that this language proficiency would be evident in their speech in at least three ways: (1) the occurrence of frequent shifting from Spanish to English due to lack of vocabulary in L2; (2) the frequent occurrence of repair mechanisms at the point of the shift (a loose integration of the shifted material into the discourse); and (3) the use of switching as a linguistic evaluative device—i.e., to achieve rhetorical effect in conversation or, as Gumperz (1976) puts it, to symbolize varying degrees of speaker involvement in the message.

The results confirm the predicted outcome of the analysis. They also confirm the speakers' self-evaluation of their bilingual proficiency. They all reported being more proficient in English in that they preferred to converse in this language in all situations and to reserve their use of Spanish only for their interactions with monolingual Spanish speakers.

The Quantitative Data

A total of 455 shifts from Spanish into English was counted for four speakers. Of these, 250 were single word shifts and 205 were shifts of two or more words.[1] Of the latter shifts, ninety-six, or 47 percent, were either three or more sentences long or continued until the end of the speaker's turn of speech. When English became the base language for a whole turn or during a certain segment of the conversation, there was rarely a shift back to Spanish. The interviewers, on the other hand, used Spanish almost exclusively and this prompted the speakers to resume the conversation in this language.

Each of the 250 single word shifts was later researched to determine whether it had been encoded in English elsewhere in the discourse. Single words were also categorized by semantic field into words related to sports, school, work, ethnic matters, and those not related to any of these fields. Each of the 455 shifts was coded as to whether it was preceded and followed by repair phenomena (e.g., false starts, hesitation, pauses). Also noted was whether the shift violated any structural constraints. Shifts of two or more words were further coded to indicate if the shift into English affected more than a single constituent—what Hasselmo, as quoted in Poplack (1979), has called "unlimited switching."

Figure 1 displays the results for a total of 250 single word shifts for four speakers: V (female, age eighteen), J (male, age fifteen), M (male, age eighteen), and C (male, age nineteen).

Figure 1

Percentage of types of shifts involving single words for reported English-dominant bilinguals

SPEAKERS	V (f,18)	J (m,15)	M (m,18)	C (m,19)
1. Single words shifted out of total	37%	63%	70%	30%
2. Special semantic fields[2]	49	48	31	60
3. Also coded in Spanish	9	12	14	10
4. After editing phenomena	54	16	49	20
5. Equivalency constraint violated	0	2	3	0

Figure 2 displays the results for a total of 205 shifts of two or more words for the same four speakers.

Discussion

Figures 1 and 2 clearly show that the language shifting pattern characteristic of this group of English-dominant Chicano bilinguals is different

Figure 2

Percentage of types of shifts of two or more words for reported English-dominant bilinguals

SPEAKERS	V (f,18)	J (m,15)	M (m,18)	C (m,19)
1. Two or more words shifted out of total	63%	37%	30%	70%
2. After editing phenomena[3]	41	17	87	34
3. Smooth transition[3]	51	52	10	32
4. Unlimited switch	66	15	18	87
5. Equivalency constraint violated	0	2	26	6

from that reported by Poplack (1978, 1979) for fluent and even nonfluent Puerto Rican bilinguals. Indeed, there was a high percentage of switches preceded by editing phenomena such as false starts, hesitation, and pauses (see items 4 and 2 in Figures 1 and 2, respectively). Also, at least for two of the speakers, there was a high percentage of unlimited switches. Furthermore, three of the speakers violated the equivalence constraint and one of them does it in 26 percent of the cases.

Poplack (1979) reports that less than 1 percent of the Puerto Rican data violated the equivalence constraint and that the majority of these violations involved adjective placement. This phenomenon is attested to in the current data in addition to other kinds of equivalent structure violations, as illustrated below:

1. Nine . . . *tiene ella.*
   (Nine . . . she has)
2. *Trabajo en una librería, en las noches. Pero como pasó* Proposition Thirteen. . . .
   (I work in a library, at night. But as Proposition Thirteen passed. . .)

Both cases above violate the order of the constituents in English. The O-V-S order, which follows the rules of Spanish, is disallowed in English.[4] These cases violate the equivalence constraint, which would predict "*Ella tiene* nine" or "*Tiene* nine" as the only possible switch points for "nine"[5] in example 1 and "*Como la* Proposition Thirteen *pasó*" as the possible switch point for example 2.[6]

3. *El último juego de mi* junior year *era el más* . . . excited *juego de mi vida.*

(The last game of my junior year was the most . . . exciting game of my life.)

4. *Esas son, este,. . . muchachas* low class.
(Those are, mm,. . . low class girls.)

Examples 3 and 4 violate the structure of the Spanish noun phrase (NP). Note that in Spanish adjectives/adjective phrases typically follow the noun, and in example 3 the adjective switched into English ("excited," which the speaker probably meant to be "exciting") precedes the Spanish noun. The NP containing the switch in example 4 violates both English and Spanish rules, since in English the expected order is adjective-noun ("low class girls") and in Spanish "low class" is translated as a prepositional phrase, "*de clase baja.*" According to the equivalence constraint, the switch should have occurred after the hesitation point and should have affected the entire NP.[7]

Examples 5 through 8 are structurally interesting cases, involving switches between a Spanish object pronoun, which is cliticized to the verb in Spanish, and a verb form switched to English. These, therefore, could be considered violations of either the free morpheme constraint or the equivalence constraint.

5. *Y se me* sprained *mi dedo éste.*
(And I sprained this finger.)

6. *Y 'tonce mi amigo que, que se* . . . sits in front of me, *bueno, puso* . . .
(And then my friend who, who . . . sits in front of me, well he put . . .)

7. *Ella me, me* trust me. *Ella tenía confianza en mí.*
(She trusts me. She had trust in me.)

8. *Ya casándome, ya tengo otra persona que me* . . . weigh me down.
(Once I get married, then I have another person who weighs me down.)

It is interesting to note that when the switch involves more than one word, the switched segment is grammatical in English. This appears to be the only exceptionless constraint for our Chicano data: *switch at any point in discourse provided the internal structure of the switch does not violate the rules of English.* Example 9 offers further support for this observation:

9. *Un amigo mío, le pegaron, después que ya* . . . they blew the whistle.
(A friend of mine, they hit him, after they had already blown the whistle.)

In example 9 the switched sequence conforms to the rules of English, but the switch occurs at a structurally nonequivalent point. Note that the order of the constituents in the adverbial clause in Spanish and English does not map onto each other, as shown in example 9a, because if a subject was expressed in Spanish it would have to be placed before the adverb *ya*. Therefore, at the point of the switch the assumption is that the subject had already been expressed.

9a.	Spanish:	Ø	*ya*	*tocaron el pito*
	English:	they	already	blew the whistle
	shift:	*ya*	they	blew the whistle

Examples 10 through 12 illustrate further cases of violations:

10. *Ella yo creo que está buscando una persona . . . ya pa'* to settle down with *que* an' *yo que apenas 'stoy viendo las cosas.*
(I think she's looking for a person . . . already to settle down with an' I have only just started seeing things.)

11. *Las personas que se creen mucho, no . . .* benefit out of this world.
(People who think too much of themselves, don't . . . benefit out of this world.)

12. *Cuando está solo, es nada* but *un* baby.
(When he's alone, he's nothing but a baby.)

Examples 10 and 11 violate the equivalence constraint. Example 12 violates the free morpheme constraint, since idiomatic expressions are considered to behave like bound morphemes (Poplack, 1979, p. 10).

There are a few cases of lexical items that would, in one analysis, violate the free morpheme constraint. All the examples occur in the sample from one of the speakers (J—male, age fifteen).

	English	*Attested utterance*	
13.	parties	parties	[p^{h}ári + s]
14.	signs	sainos	[sáyn + o + s]
15.	ditch	dichamos	[dič^h + ámos]
16.	jump	yampean	[ǰʌmp + éan]
17.	join	yoinan	[ǰóyn + an]

In examples 13 through 17 the bound morphemes are Spanish both in structure and phonetic realization. It is difficult, on the other hand, to determine unequivocally whether the stems have been adapted to Spanish phonology, except in example 13, which is clearly not integrated into Spanish. In this case, the plural morpheme is devoiced [s], but it would be a mistake to ascribe it to Spanish phonology since devoicing is frequent in Chicano English.

Note that the phonology of the stem in example 14 could be either English or Spanish. In example 15 the consonantal segments are English, alveolar stop, and aspirated affricate, while the vocalic segment is Spanish. The same mixed phonology could be said to occur in examples 16 and 17. Even though the voiced palatal affricate [ǰ] does occur as an allophonic variant in Spanish, it is extremely rare in Los Angeles Spanish.[8] The vowel in example 16 is English, but the nasal is shared by both languages and the stop is the Spanish unaspirated variant. The diphthong [oy] in example 17 may be English or Spanish, but in Spanish it occurs in very few lexical items and only when followed by a morpheme or word boundary (e.g., *hoy, soy, doy*), which is not the case in [*ǰóyn + an*]. On what basis may it be determined, therefore, whether the speaker is using English or Spanish phonology? Or is it valid to conclude, as Poplack (1979, p. 10) does, that these cases should be seen as aiming for, but missing, a Spanish target—rather than as a switch between two bound morphemes? Rather, it appears that these cases pose a basic question that the free morpheme constraint does not answer: what degree of phonological integration should there be for either of the two languages?[9] On the basis of the Chicano data, it appears that shifting between bound morphemes may occur even when the phonological integration of one of the morphemes into the language of the other is not complete. It is likely, however, that this may be possible only when the issue is code-shifting and not part of a code-switching situation.

Functions of Code-shifting

The data suggest that in a situation where the bilingual speakers have to use the language in which they are self-reportedly less fluent or less competent, the main function of code-shifting is linguistic rather than social. That is, the shifts occur mainly because of lack of lexical or syntactic availability in the base language (in this case, Spanish).[10] Thus, four functions related to the limited Spanish proficiency of the speakers are identified in this context:

1. To fill in memory lapses
2. To compensate for the lack of certain lexical items or syntactic constructions
3. To clarify a message or to make it more precise
4. To evaluate a message.

As stated above, other functions assigned to code-switching in the literature are also accurate for the Chicano data (Ervin-Tripp, 1970; Gumperz, 1976; Hatch, 1973). These are not discussed here, however, since this report includes only those considered to be typical of a code-shifting situation.

1. *Code-shifting to fill in memory lapses.* An average of about 12 percent (see Figure 1) of the single word shifts into English are coded in Spanish somewhere else in the discourse. It appears, therefore, that the function of these shifts is to fill in a memory lapse, as shown by examples 18 and 19, where the speakers utter the word in Spanish only after a short pause.

18. *Todos son más* older *de yo . . . más mayores.*
(They are all older than me . . . older.)

19. *Yo creo que* sociology . . . *sociología. ¿Cómo se dice?*
(I think that sociology . . . sociology. How do you say it?)

2. *Code-shifting to compensate for lack of competence in one language.* The large percentage of shifts that occur after some editing phenomena (see Figures 1 and 2) appears to indicate that the speakers are trying to avoid the shift. The fact that the shift still occurs shows that certain lexical or syntactic constructions are not available to the speakers in Spanish, so they resort to English. Note that in some cases, as illustrated in examples 20 and 21, the speakers even ask for the corresponding word in Spanish, but without waiting for the answer they shift into English and continue speaking:

20. *Exito para mí es no más, este, este . . .* to obtain. *¿Cómo se dice?*
To obtain *lo que yo quiera.*
(Success for me is just, er, er, . . . to obtain. How do you say it? To obtain what I want.)

21. *Porque es muy celoso y . . . .* How do you say "temper"? He has a bad temper. *No más yo—No, era, era muy simpático y todo.*
(Because he's very jealous and. . . . How do you say "temper"? He has a bad temper. But I—No, he, he was very nice and all.)

3. *Code-shifting to clarify a message or to make it more precise.* There are a certain number of shifts into English that make a message already coded in Spanish clearer or more precise inasmuch as they appear to reflect more adequately the speaker's intent. This function is illustrated in examples 22 and 23:

22. *Y luego salió del* hospital. . . . He escaped from hospital.
(And then he left the hospital. . . . He escaped from hospital.)

23. *Los zapatos eran blancos, pero . . . un poquito . . . .* I had them off-white, just a little bit. *Y compramos —.*
(The shoes were white, but . . . just a little . . . . I had them off-white, just a little bit. And we bought —.)

In examples 22 and 23 the speakers communicated their messages in Spanish, then qualified them and made them more precise by using English.

4. *Code-shifting to evaluate a message.* This function appears to be similar to what Hatch (1973) refers to as *tone* and Gumperz (1976) relates to the degree of speaker involvement in the message. The aim of this type of shift is to achieve rhetorical effect in speech. The linguistic devices used with an evaluative function in monolingual narratives have been discussed by various scholars. Labov (1972, pp. 370-93), for instance, proposes that in the structure of well-formed, extended narratives, there are certain elements, verbal and nonverbal, that tell the listener that the story is worth reporting. In the Chicano data, speakers frequently shifted into English when they reached a high degree of personal involvement with the events in the narrative or to offer some external evaluation of the narrative. It must be noted, however, that this evaluation does not occur only in narratives but in other types of discourse as well. It usually takes the form of comments in English, interspersed along the course of discourse, which convey the speaker's feelings about the events.

The following excerpt is taken from a narrative about having had to make a speech on graduation day. Observe that the speaker switches into English to express how she felt in that situation:

24. . . . *Cuando me iba a subir a decir la, la,* the speech, *si dijo que se iba a reír porque, nosotros estábamos riendo de pla—cuando íbamos, cuando estábamos platicando y todo eso.* Oh, *ay,* it was embarrassing! It was really nice, though, but I was embarrassed!
(. . . When I was going up to say the, the, the speech, she said she was going to laugh because, we were laughing at—when we were, when we were talking and all that. Oh, *ay,* it was embarrassing! It was really nice, though, but I was embarrassed!)

The passage in example 25 opens a narrative about parachute riding in Acapulco. The speaker shifts into English to tell the listener that this was indeed an exciting experience which is worth reporting.

25. . . . *Una cosa que yo quise hacer cuando fui a Acapulco . . . Me subí en . . . ese* parachute ride, *arriba del agua. Me subí en eso.* Oh! I loved that! (Interviewer: *¿Sí?*) *Sí. Me recuerdo más de eso.*
(. . . One thing that I felt like doing when I went to Acapulco . . . I rode in . . . that parachute ride, above the water. I rode on that. Oh! I loved that! [Interviewer: Yes?] Yes. I remember more about that.)

Example 26 is taken from a narrative of a fight between the speaker and a bigger boy. The speaker shifts into English to express his feelings and to justify why he got into the fight even though he knew he was at a disadvantage.

26. L: *Vinieron todos sus amigos y yo estaba solo. Y nos empezamos a pelear. Y me pegó una buena —.*
Interviewer: *¿Y tú no te pudiste arrancar o algo?*
L: *No quise. Yo pude pero no quise.* I'd rather die than be known as a coward!
(L: All his friends came and I was alone. And we started to fight. And he hit me a good —.
Interviewer: And you couldn't run away or something?
L: I didn't want to. I could but didn't want to. I'd rather die than be known as a coward!)

The following excerpt is taken from a conversation about the speaker's boyfriend. Note that the shifts into English convey more intense feelings, more personal involvement compared with the descriptive statements encoded in Spanish.

27. L: *J. no tiene muchas mujeres. J. no está casado.*
Interviewer: How do you know?
L: *Porque yo sabe* (sic).
Interviewer: Ah!
L: *No. Yo creo eso.* What can I do? Just believe him, trust him.
Antes estaba enamorado, cuando yo tenía diecisiete años. . . .

Later:

L: *No sé, pero no pienso. El me dijo "No," y yo creo.*
Interviewer: *Sí.*
L: I hope he's not. *Tenía novias, pero no, no ahorita.*

(L: J. doesn't have many women. J. is not married.
Interviewer: How do you know?
L: Because I know.
Interviewer: Ah!
L: No. I believe so. What can I do? Just believe him, trust him. He was in love before, when I was seventeen. . . .

Later:

L: I don't know, but I don't think so. He hold me "No," and I believe.
Interviewer: Yes.
L: I hope he's not. He had girlfriends, but not, not now.)

Conclusions

Among certain groups of bilingual speakers with uneven degrees of proficiency in the languages involved, code-shifting fulfills an important linguistic function: to compensate for insufficient knowledge of one of the languages. This conclusion is based on an analysis of the characteristics of the code-shifting patterns evidenced by these speakers—namely, loose integration into the discourse, marked by pauses, hesitation and false starts, a high percentage of unlimited shifts, and violation of the equivalence constraint and the free-morpheme constraint.

These conclusions agree with Poplack's (1978) earlier observations of code-switching (CS-I) among Puerto Ricans, which allowed for possible differential degrees of structural integration and for violations of structural constraints depending on the speakers' level of competence in the languages. Yet these conclusions do not support her later observations (Poplack, 1979) to the effect that regardless of the degree of bilingual ability of the speaker, switching obeys the equivalence constraint and is smoothly integrated into the discourse. This comparison has led the author to propose that code-switching and code-shifting may be two different phenomena. Code-switching appears to require a large degree of linguistic competence in the two languages and is largely motivated by social and discourse/pragmatic factors. Code-shifting, on the other hand, fulfills basically a linguistic function and is motivated by a specific sociolinguistic situation: the need to communicate in the language in which the speaker has a limited degree of competence.[11] Code-shifting, therefore, requires a large degree of communicative competence: the speaker's ability to resort to another code in order to convey his or her message more precisely, more effectively, and more personally. This finding, however, has implications for the possible communication barriers that this language situation may bring about between these Chicano adolescents and the members of their families or their community who are monolingual Spanish speakers.

Notes

1. Fillers such as "I mean" and "you know" were not included in the count.
2. Included here are words related to sports, school, work, and certain words that are ethnically or culturally loaded (e.g., "low-rider," "surfer," "gang").
3. The percentages in items 2 and 3 do not add up to 100 percent. The difference corresponds to cases of natural discourse pauses, not included in Figure 2.
4. In fact, the order O-V-S does occur in certain constructions in English, namely of those where prepositional phrase preposing has applied (e.g., "Out of the closet jumped a mouse"). This is a highly restricted order in English, however, and it is not the type of construction that example 2 illustrates, which is a very frequent order with intransitive verbs in Spanish.
5. Given that the constraints of code-switching (CS-1) are proposed on the basis of the surface structure, it seems that a sentence like "nine *tiene*" would also violate equivalence since an exact translation into English, "nine has," would be ungrammatical. Furthermore, if expressed, the subject in Spanish must be placed in postverbal position in this sentence (see Silva-Corvalán, 1977, for a discussion of subject placement in spoken Spanish).
6. It is in fact unclear what the equivalency constraint would predict for a switch within an NP that (because of selectional restrictions) is structurally different in English and Spanish, as in example 2. The NP "Proposition Thirteen" does not occur after a determiner in English. However, it does in Spanish—*la proposición trece*—so would "*la* proposition thirteen" violate the equivalence constraint? Poplack would not consider this a violation on the basis that she would analyze "Proposition Thirteen" as a proper noun.
7. Poplack (personal communication), states that "low class" should not be translated as *de clase baja* but as the single word adjective, *ordinarias.* Translated in this manner, example 4 would not be a violation of the equivalency constraint.
8. This observation has also been made by Phillips (1976, p. 77), who states that [ǰ], a voiced affricate stop, is quite rare in Los Angeles Spanish and that he has found it only a few times in his data.
9. Poplack (p.c.) states that the degree of phonological integration would have to be decided on the basis of the phonological abilities of each speaker. Only then could it be decided if the speaker was aiming for a language target or actually switching between two bound morphemes. The difficulties involved in doing this should be obvious.
10. This researcher has observed, however, that if there are other participants in the situation who are English-dominant bilinguals, the speaker will almost without exception address them in English—as in Gumperz's (1976) "addressee specification" function.
11. The speakers' limited degree of competence in Spanish is also evident in that their use of Spanish is affected by English phonology and syntax—e.g., use of progressive forms contrary to Spanish rules and elision of relative pronouns and of the complementizer *que.*

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Spanish-English Bilingual Children as Peer Teachers

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Abstract

The peer teaching situation provides an excellent setting for studying the sociolinguistic skills of bilingual children. In these situations children not only demonstrate their skill in manipulating the structural aspects of Spanish and English, but they also exhibit their knowledge of how to use each language to carry out certain social and pedagogical functions in the classroom.

This paper describes a study using discourse analysis of peer teaching situations in a bilingual classroom to show how bilingual third graders might employ two languages in that setting. Analysis of discourse in peer teaching situations demonstrates that bilingual children are competent language users. They are sensitive to the language learning needs of their peers and can employ each of the languages to model, explain, and give reinforcement and feedback to their listeners. In addition, their language-using strategies are conditioned by rules for functioning appropriately in the classroom.

Introduction

The peer teaching situation presents an excellent setting for studying the sociolinguistic skills of bilingual children. In these situations children demonstrate not only their skill in manipulating the structural aspects of language, but also their knowledge of how to use each language to carry out certain social and pedagogical functions in the classroom. The peer tutor has several simultaneous tasks to accomplish. These include understanding the directions given by the classroom teacher in whichever language they are presented; setting up the task in such a way that the new peer-teacher role becomes accepted by the student tutored; explaining the directions clearly to the student in the appropriate language; proceeding with the task; and enlisting the student's participation in the task.

The task of the peer tutor becomes even more complex in a bilingual classroom when the students, themselves perhaps of limited English proficiency, tutor others who have limited or no knowledge of English. Nevertheless, peer teaching situations are very common in some bilingual classrooms. Such peer teaching situations can be either structured or spontaneous. In structured situations the teacher assigns one student to tutor another on a particular task. In spontaneous situations, a student voluntarily undertakes to teach another who is having difficulty. Because students in these classes have varying degrees of fluency in each of the languages, frequently those students who are more fluent bilinguals or more fluent in English become intermediaries in the language learning and acculturation processes of their peers.

The purpose of this paper is to discuss a study of language usage in a third-grade bilingual classroom and to show what strategies students employ to tutor each other in that setting. Detailed discourse analysis of classroom interaction in peer teaching situations suggests that these students are more competent language users than is generally recognized. They are sensitive to the language learning needs of their peers and can employ each of the languages to model, explain, and give reinforcement and feedback to their peers. In addition, they employ resources in each language to structure the social situation.

Research on Bilingual Interaction

Very little research has addressed language usage in bilingual classrooms in the United States. Many of the studies that have been carried out have not made their way into print, or are still at the dissertation level. There has been a growing interest among some researchers in developing qualitative or descriptive accounts of how communication is structured in these settings (Erickson et al., 1980; Rodríguez-Brown, 1976). This focus can be contrasted with quantitative approaches or those that concentrate on test results and similar measurements. The more qualitative or descriptive approaches, which have recently been termed "ethnographic," have followed in the tradition of Philips's (1972) research on interaction in classrooms on the Warm Springs Indian Reservation.

Philips concentrated on interaction patterns of Native American children at home on the reservation and in Native American classrooms. Through analysis of the interaction patterns, she demonstrated that the Native American community was characterized by different "participant structures" than those of the Anglo community, and therefore the rules for appropriate speech usage were different for each community. Philips argues that what Anglo teachers consider to be the "silent Indian child" is only a result of viewing Native American children functioning in situations that are not culturally congruent with what is expected and appropriate in the Native American community. When these students had an opportunity to function in small groups with their peers, in situations in which no one was assigned a leadership role or was publicly censured or praised, the students were much more verbal than when they were singled out individually to "perform" before their classmates.

Philips's research suggests that there are subtle cultural differences in the use of language that go beyond the language itself. Cultural and ethnic groups have different assumptions on how communication is to be carried out. Miscommunication can arise not so much because the language is not understood, but because the social and cultural conventions for the use of language differ.

A similar study of interaction in classrooms has been conducted in Chicago. The Bilingual Classroom Interaction Project (Erickson et al., 1980) attempts to describe the social and cultural organization of interaction and language usage in several Mexican American classrooms and to compare those patterns with more mainstream Anglo American classrooms. The researchers have begun to isolate interaction patterns that may be characterized as typically Hispanic. These include the frequent use of terms of endearment by the teacher, such as the use of diminutives; terms such as *papi* and *mami* to address the children; the frequency of conversations centered on concerns over family members and the importance of the extended family; and the verbal reinforcement of expected behavior, such as reminders to students to use *con permiso* to show respect for others. Microethnographic analysis of the videotaped record, supplemented with participant observation of classroom events and interviews with participants, have formed the data base for most of these judgments. Often cultural differences are discovered at this microanalytic level, whereas they might otherwise be overlooked.

Another focus of research into bilingual interaction has turned to the language usage of children and their ability to code-switch or alternate between their two languages (Zentella, 1978; McLure, 1978; Genishi, 1976; Rodríguez-Brown, 1976). These studies show that young children, even kindergarteners, are able to attend to the form and the content of a speaker's message and to make the necessary adjustments in their own language usage to accommodate the needs of their listeners. These researchers propose that such code-switching behavior be considered a sociolinguistic competence rather than a deficit. By code-switching, speakers signal important information on how messages are to be interpreted.

These studies point to the value of conceptualizing the language usage of bilingual children by employing a communicative competence framework. The term communicative competence is to be distinguished from Chomsky's linguistic competence. Chomsky (1965) was primarily interested in the knowledge that speakers must have to produce grammatically correct sentences in their native language and recognize incorrect ones. Communicative competence is a broader term, encompassing the knowledge that speakers must have to use language that is appropriate within a specific context and across different contexts, including knowledge of when to speak or be silent, when to use a formal or informal style of speech, and how to adjust language to accommodate the needs of different listeners (Hymes, 1971). In a bilingual classroom, communicative competence would include knowledge of when it is appropriate to use English, when it is appropriate to use the second language, and when it may be more effective to use a combination or alternation of both. In the peer teaching situation, this would also involve students' knowledge of how to use language to establish themselves in the new role of teacher, to focus the students' attention on the task, and to facilitate the learning of the task.

A study that provides an expanded awareness of the communicative competence of bilingual children in the peer teaching situation was carried out by Carrasco et al. (1981). Carrasco videotaped Verónica, a first grade Chicana, who had very limited knowledge of English, as she tutored Alberto, a Spanish-dominant first grader. The task was to teach him several English spelling words from a sheet. Carrasco concentrated on the "instructional chain," a task with the following four phases:

1. The teacher explains the task to the child tutor.
2. The child tutor repeats the task back to the teacher to demonstrate comprehension.
3. The tutor teaches the task to another child.
4. The tutor gives an account to the teacher once the task is completed.

This videotape showed that although Verónica was given the task in English, her weaker language, she was able to carry it out effectively with Alberto, using crisp clear English in her repetition of the words, and she was also effective in negotiating her role as teacher in the instructional chain. This is one example of how the skills and competencies of bilingual students can often be more effectively demonstrated in peer teaching situations than in whole class or large group interaction in which the teacher is in control.

The Peer Teaching Episode

In studying classroom language use, Mehan (1979) described a basic elicitation sequence which is a common interaction pattern in elementary classrooms. This basic pattern consists of three phases: an initiation, a reply, and an evaluation or feedback. An example of this sequence is the following:

Initiation: Teacher—"What time is it, Denise?"
Reply: Pupil—"2:30."
Evaluation: Teacher—"Very good, Denise." (Mehan, 1979, p. 285)

When a classroom teacher does not get a response or when it is incorrect, the teacher may engage in an "extended elicitation sequence." This sequence involves the use of additional strategies, such as simplifying the elicitations, giving examples, or prompting the reply. In playing a peer-teaching role, students have to learn to engage in these extended elicitation sequences. Moreover, as peer teachers, students have an additional challenge to their effectiveness. They have to establish their new role as an authority, and maintain that role during the interaction to continue to focus the students on the task. Nevertheless, during the interaction they also have to maintain the social camaraderie that allows them to return to the previous role of classmate and friend once the task is completed. Maintaining a comfortable balance between "teacher" and "peer" is not always easy. Students often use humor and appeals to peer solidarity while they are engaged in peer teaching (Steinberg and Cazden, 1979).

The bilingual peer teaching situation adds an additional dimension to the task of the peer teacher. The peer teacher who is teaching students of varying degrees of proficiency in either language has to decide how to distribute use of each language for most effective interaction. The peer teacher has to monitor the responses of the students and either simplify the task for those who are more limited in the target language or make it more challenging for those who are more fluent. Moreover, in bilingual classrooms, where the development of English skills is emphasized, whether consciously or otherwise, the teaching of English vocabulary is not limited to the vocabulary of the task itself. The peer teacher may also learn that English is taught informally in the process of giving directions or controlling behavior, for example.

Bilingual children, because they have access to two languages rather than one, have an additional set of strategies which they can employ in the peer teaching situation. If they are Spanish-English bilinguals, there are resources within the Spanish language which they can capitalize upon to regulate the social relationship and help the pupils do the task. In addition, they can alternate between the two languages to provide emphasis and clarification, or to structure the task as the teacher would and thereby maintain control of the interaction.

This paper describes a study of bilingual peer teaching situations to demonstrate strategies employed by a bilingual child, in one or both languages, to establish and maintain her role as teacher, and facilitate the learning of the task by the pupils. The data for this presentation are taken from a larger study conducted in a third grade bilingual classroom in northeast Ohio (conducted for the author's dissertation, at Kent State University). The school is in a city with a large Puerto Rican population whose heaviest concentration is right in the vicinity of the school. Many of the Puerto Ricans migrated to the city around World War II, but new migrants continue to come every year. Therefore, there is always a monolingual Spanish population in the school.

The classroom studied had students who were monolingual in Spanish, others who were monolingual in English, and several who were bilinguals of varying degrees of proficiency in each language. The larger study involved a detailed analysis of seventeen hours of audiotapes of classroom interaction to see how bilingual children employed each of their languages in that setting. The data in this presentation come from three audiotapes of peer teaching situations. In these situations, one student (MI) tutored from one to four other students (ELI, MA, LIN, and JAZ) in English vocabulary and sentences. The vocabulary was either on flash cards or in a spelling text. All these students were Puerto Rican. MI was considered to be one of the more bilingual students in the class and she was assigned to be the teacher. ELI and JAZ were both monolingual Spanish speakers. MA and LIN were both Spanish dominant, but they frequently attempted to use English with their peers.

Bilingual Peer Teaching Strategies

Example 1. MI is to teach English vocabulary words to JAZ, ELI, and MA. She is using a set of word cards. She wants to read all the words first and have the students listen, then have them repeat after her.

Transcript	*Translation and Description*
MI: First I'll say it, then you guys.	MI takes all the cards and looks at the group. She holds up the first word card.
JAZ: "Fat."	JAZ reads the card before MI does so.
MI: *Primero yo, entonces cuando yo acabe todito esto, entonces le digo.*	("First I'll go, and then when I finish all this, then I'll tell you.")

	MI switches to Spanish and clarifies her instructions.
MA: "Fat."	MA calls out the word without waiting for MI.
MI: Don't say it. *Cuando yo lo digo se quedan calla'o.* When I say it, you keep . . . you hear it.	MI switches back to English, then Spanish. ("When I say it you keep quiet.") She switches back to English.

MI has to establish herself in her role as teacher. By starting her instructions in English, she follows the pattern most used by the regular teacher in teaching English language arts, using English first for the whole class, and repeating her instructions in Spanish for the small number of Spanish-dominant or monolingual students in the class. Although the linguistic dominance of the students might have required only Spanish for the instructions, the informal rules of the classroom game and the need to establish herself in the teacher role made the use of English appropriate. Nevertheless, MI switches between English and Spanish to ensure that her students understand what is required and that they conform to her expectations.

Example 2. MI is teaching vocabulary words from a book to the same four students.

Transcript	*Translation and Description*
MI: "Ham." *Este aquí.*	MI reads the word "ham." ("This one here.") She points to the word in the book.
Vamos a decir esto cuatro veces, esto cuatro veces, y esto cuatro veces. Four times all of them.	("We're going to say this four times, this four times, and this four times.") She points to other words in book. She switches to English using a slower speech rate.
ALL: Ham, ham, ham, ham.	All the students repeat the word.

In this example MI is already in charge, and speaks in a very authoritative tone of voice. She repeats her instructions, first in Spanish, then summarizes them in English, using a slower speech rate for the English sentence. It is interesting to note that she uses the *Nosotros* rather than the *Ustedes* form of the verb in her instructions: "We are going to do this" rather than "You are going to do this." This may be a strategy for establishing peer solidarity and thereby getting more cooperation in doing the task.

Example 3. Sometimes a switch in language is accompanied by particular stylistic markers within one language.

Transcript	*Translation and Description*
MI: *Ahora vamos pa' este. El cuarenta y uno.*	("Now we're going to this one.") She points to a word. ("Number forty-one.")
MA: Oooh, oooh, I'll read it.	MA attempts to get the floor.
MI: No, no, MA, if you be bad you're not gonna read nothing.	MI switches to English, threatening MA.
ELI: No, no, no.	ELI claims that he does not want to read either.
MI: *Sí, nene, mira; eso pa'que lo aprendan.*	("Yeah, *nene,* look; that's so you'll learn it.")

In the above example, MI uses English to threaten MA, and uses Spanish to persuade ELI to do the task. Not only is the switch in language significant, but her use of Spanish is accompanied by the use of *nene,* a term of endearment. The term *nene* literally means "boy." *Nene* however has a totally different connotation from its English equivalent, for whereas *nene* is affectionate, "boy" is a put-down. Such a stylistic marker tends to soften the authoritarian tone of the interaction. In addition to this style switch, MI adds a rationale to mitigate her request: "That's so you'll learn it."

Example 4. A stylistic switch in one language can likewise accompany a code-switch to change the interaction to a more formal plane. ELI has been playing with the tape recorder, wanting to speak directly into it. MI wants him to return to the task of saying the words.

Transcript	*Translation and Description*
MI: *Te va pa' alla.*	("You get over there.") MI asks ELI to move to his seat.
ELI: *Dale, ¿qué pasa? ¡Mira!*	("Hey, what's happening? Look!") ELI ignores MI's directions.
MI: Look at the "Had."	MI switches to English and points to word.
Eso es lo que usted tenía.	("That is what you had.")

"Had."	She switches to Spanish and refers back to the word.

In this example MI gives a directive in Spanish that is ignored. She switches to English using a firmer tone of voice. She then switches to Spanish, but rather than employing the previous *tú* form she switches to the more formal, *usted* form of the verb. Using the *usted* form would be equivalent to a teacher's using a student's first and last name when addressing him or her, a way of formalizing the relationship in order to get back to the task. Where the use of *nene* in example 3 creates a more intimate relationship, the use of *usted* here creates a more formal relationship.

Example 5. Sometimes a code-switch presents a contrast between persuasion and threat. In the following example, MI is having difficulty keeping the students on the task.

Transcript	*Translation and Description*
MI: *Este aquí. Este aquí.*	("This one here. This one here.") MI points to word in book.
Este aquí.	("This one here.")
No, esto es para que ustedes lo aprendan, porque esto, esto puede . . .	("No, this is so that you'll learn them, because this can, this can . . .") She begins to explain why they should learn the words.
MA: "Bug."	MA calls out the word.
MI: MA, I'm gonna tell the teacher if you don't listen.	MI switches to English and threatens MA.
Este aquí.	("This one here.") MI switches to Spanish.

In the above example, MI employs Spanish to give directions and a rationale for doing the task. She uses English to threaten MA and get her to pay attention. Such a pattern of switching is also a common strategy of the teacher, and might suggest that English carries more force for control purposes in the classroom than does Spanish.

Example 6. Sometimes the code-switch is employed to focus the students' attention on the task.

Transcript	*Translation and Description*
MI: *Ahora*, right here.	("Now, right here.") She points to the word in the book.

Aquí. Aquí.	("Here. Here.") She looks around to see if everyone is looking at the book.
Right here, MA.	
MA: What?	
MI: Put your finger there.	MI switches to English.
MA: What?	
MI: *Di* "tab."	(Say "tab.") She switches to Spanish to give directions.

In the above example, MI wants to ensure that she has the attention of her pupils before proceeding with the task. She switches between English and Spanish as she points to the word. She is not satisfied to have the students listen, but wants a physical indication that MA is attending to the task, and therefore asks her to put her finger on the word. This is similar to a common teacher strategy, whereby the teacher demands all eyes on the front of the room, feet flat on the floor, etc., before she or he is ready to proceed with the lesson.

Example 7. Sometimes a code-switch is a translation given for the rest of the group. In this example, MA and LIN have been competing for word cards. MI has structured the task into a game situation, in which each student gets the cards that he or she pronounces correctly and then the student gets to act as teacher for the others. Changing the task to a game was a common strategy. LIN has missed a word and MA has said it correctly.

Transcript	*Translation and Description*
LIN: *Yo lo sabía.* So!	("I knew it. So!") LIN claims that she knew the answer.
MA: You got it backwards.	MA criticizes her, claiming that she had the word card backwards.
MI: *Al revés lo tiene.*	MI translates MA's comment into Spanish. . .
Ahora tú.	and allocates the next turn to MA. ("Now you go.")

In the above example, MI translates MA's comment into Spanish. This seems to be a strategy for getting students back on task, and reestablishing her role as evaluator for LIN. By translating MA's comment, MI seems to imply that it is her own role as teacher to evaluate and give feedback, not the role of another student. She then proceeds to allocate the next turn to MA and thereby reestablish her role.

Sometimes instead of switching languages, strategies in one language are employed to elicit the correct response and simplify the task. Because of MI's access to two phonological and two spelling systems, she can hear and imitate the discrepancy between the students' pronunciation and the desired English pronunciation. She employs this knowledge in two ways: by changing the spelling of the English word to more closely approximate the pronunciation, and by imitating the students' inaccurate pronunciation followed by an exaggerated modeling of the correct English pronunciation. The following are examples of her use of these strategies.

Example 8. MI is teaching ELI several English vocabulary words from a book.

Transcript	*Translation and Description*
MI: *Ahora tú: cuatro veces,* "bug."	("Now you: four times, "bug.")
ELI: Bug, bug, bug, bug.	ELI says word with Spanish accent.
MI: *Tú estás diciendo* "bug."	("You're saying 'bug'.") MI imitates ELI's Spanish accent.
Es "buuuug, buuuug."	"It's 'buuuug, buuuug'.")

In the above example, MI imitates ELI's incorrect pronunciation of the word "bug," and then models the correct version by exaggerating the English vowel sound.

Example 9. Students have to read the word "last." One student says the word, giving the letter "a" a Spanish pronunciation. MI wants to explain that the vowel sound is different in English and in Spanish. She employs two strategies for getting at the pronunciation.

Transcript	*Translation and Description*
MI: "Last."	("Last.") MI says the word using a Spanish pronunciation to imitate the student.
Eso es lo que tú dijiste la primera vez.	("That's what you said the first time.")
Mira: este tiene una ele	("Look, this has an l, l-e-s-t.")
ele, e, ese, te.	MI spells the word in Spanish, but changes the "a" to "e".

In this example MI imitated the incorrect pronunciation of the word as feedback to the student of what he was doing wrong. In addition, she spelled the word in Spanish, but changed the vowel from an "a" to an "e" to more closely approximate her version of the English pronunciation. The Spanish spelling system does not have an equivalent to the desired English sound, so MI invented an approximation.

Example 10. This is another example of the previous strategy, changing the English spelling of the word to conform more to the kind of pronunciation she wants from the student.

Transcript	*Translation and Description*
ELI: "Hat, hat."	ELI says the word "hat" using a Spanish pronunciation.
MI: *No, cuando yo te diga.*	("No, when I tell you.") MI wants ELI to wait and listen first.
ELI: "Hat."	ELI repeats the word with a Spanish pronunciation.
MI: *Tú te . . . ¡cállate!* "Hat, hat."	("You. . . shut up!") MI repeats the word with an exaggerated pronunciation of the "a."
Mira, aquí está la "e."	("Look, here is the "e.") MI points to the "a" in the word.
"Hat, hat, hat." OK. *Ahora.*	MI repeats the word three times. ("OK. Now.") She asks ELI to say it.

MI monitors the pronunciation of her student closely. She is able to hear the discrepancy between his Spanish version of the "a" sound, and the desired English pronunciation of the word. She attempts to find a way of teaching him the correct pronunciation. In addition to modeling the word several times, she changes the spelling of the English word to more closely approximate her version of her pronunciation. This is a strategy that many of her teachers might not be able to employ unless they themselves are bilingual.

Summary and Conclusion

The previous examples present some of the strategies that MI, a bilingual third grader, employed in peer teaching situations with students of varying degrees of proficiency in English. She used resources in both her languages—including alternation between them—to establish herself in her role as teacher, to carry out the task, and to maintain the social relationship necessary for doing so. These strategies included use of terms of endearment in Spanish, such as the use of *nene,* style switching within one language, such as the use of *usted* versus *tú*; changing the spelling of English words to better approximate the desired pronunciation; imitating the student's accent to contrast it with the desired English pronunciation; and code-switching between both languages for emphasis, clarification, and control.

Though they are not reported here, similar strategies were employed by other students in the class during spontaneous peer teaching situations in which one or more students attempted to assist another in developing language skills. Students frequently monitored the language use of their peers and assisted each other in class.

The examples cited here demonstrate that bilingual students possess important sociolinguistic skills for carrying out pedagogical and social functions in the classroom. They possess these skills even though they may be classified as underachievers on the basis of formal achievement tests, and they can demonstrate these skills even though they may be considered below average on tests of intelligence. They are able to carry out sophisticated tasks in both languages, even though they may be assessed as having limited proficiency in either or both of them.

This type of evidence raises questions about the concept of "deficit" as related to bilingual children. Some of the early research on bilingual children attributed their low scores on intelligence tests to the children's bilingualism. Though few researchers presently hold this position, the skills of these children are often not recognized. These children can display a wide repertoire of skills when given responsibility and appropriate contexts for doing so. The task for the researcher is to discover what these skills are and what contexts are most conducive to their development. The task for the educator is to structure classroom environments to foster the development of these skills. As researchers and educators collaborate on this agenda, they may be better able to see what these children can do with their two languages, rather than underestimate their abilities by concentrating on tests of the grammar of either one.

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Bilingual Competence: Linguistic Interference or Grammatical Integrity?

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About the Author

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This is a review of five of the six papers presented at the session on Language Contact. The author would like to thank Zunilda López for her expert preparation of the manuscript.

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Abstract

This study reviews five papers focusing on Spanish in the United States setting in light of traditional and current research in the field of bilingualism. The author discusses methodological, conceptual, and analytical approaches to language contact, as well as the implications of various research frameworks for the findings. It is suggested that the "sociolinguistic method" can be successfully applied to the study of language contact.

Introduction

The Spanish-speaking population in the United States may be responsible for presenting the strongest challenge to English monolingualism that the country has encountered in the last century (Hasselmo, 1980). The dynamics of this challenge can be appreciated through the five papers on language contact that this author will review, dealing with developments in Puerto Rican, Chicano, and Judeo-Spanish dialects.

Urciuoli (1980) reports on the social factors involved in the process of contact between English and Spanish. On the basis of twenty months of intensive fieldwork in a Puerto Rican community, she was able to isolate three types of "contact sphere," or relationships, between groups with different native languages, and to elicit judgments about appropriate language functions in each sphere. Although the linguistic description of the types of transference that may take place within each contact channel has not yet been developed, this may prove to be a promising avenue of investigation.

By distinguishing between foreign influences that were present in Judeo-Spanish before the first half of the twentieth century and those that were incorporated more recently, and through examining code-switching, Harris (this volume) claims to find evidence of the disintegration and death of this dialect.

Lantolf (this volume) has detected qualitative differences between Chicano and Puerto Rican informants. His comparative research concerning relative clause reduction studied Spanish clauses containing a gerund functioning as an adjective or underlying *estar* plus locative adverbial, features "generated by contact between American English and the two Hispanic dialects" (this volume). Two of his seventeen putatively ungrammatical stimuli were judged significantly more acceptable by Chicanos than by Puerto Ricans, a result he attributes to the Chicanos' longer and more extensive contact with English and to environmental features that engender a low level of resistance to interference.

In the same vein, Silva-Corvalán (this volume) has examined functional and structural constraints on code-shifting among four Chicano adolescents, in relation to those constraints that had previously been posited for a stable bilingual Puerto Rican community (Poplack, 1978; 1980a). Her results show both quantitative and qualitative distinctions between the two groups. She suggests that code-shifting fulfills a compensatory function for speakers who need to communicate in a language in which they have a limited degree of competence, a finding that has implications for possible communication barriers between these speakers and their families.

Somewhat in contrast, Sobin (this volume) indicates that even in the case of gapping, the rules for which are generally not acquired in school, Spanish-English bilinguals show a high degree of separation of their two syntactic systems: the intuitions of his informants appear to comply with the different systems of each language regarding gapping. He concludes that in the area of deletion phenomena, the possibilities of one language system's influencing another are very limited.

The very diversity of approaches, topics, and results of these studies is most encouraging from the point of view of scholarly interest. However, the picture they paint, if interpreted literally, bodes ill for the integrity, and indeed the survival, of these Spanish dialects in the United States. This review will suggest that at least some of the results and conclusions of these papers are traceable to their stances on three types of issues—methodological, conceptual, and ideological—that characterize the traditional contact literature and much current work. On the other hand, a growing body of empirical sociolinguistic research on language contact is beginning to indicate that the future of Spanish in the United States may not be so bleak. This review will indicate how the sociolinguistic method can be fruitfully applied to the study of language contact.

Methodological Issues

Data Collection

Sociolinguistic studies have shown that linguistic behavior is extremely sensitive to contextual features, such that apparently slight differences in context may produce qualitative differences in performance that vary in their distance from the speaker's actual communicative norm. Labov (1972a; 1972b) has demonstrated that the style that is most regular in its structure and its relation to the evolution of language is the vernacular, in which minimum attention is paid to monitoring speech (Labov, 1972a, p. 112; 1972b, p. 208). Observation of the vernacular, which is not to be equated with illiterate or lower-class speech but rather with spontaneous, unreflecting use of language in the absence of the observer, provides the most systematic data for the analysis of linguistic structure (Labov, 1972c, p. 214).

The problems involved in obtaining reliable samples of vernacular speech are compounded in a bilingual setting, even when the interviewer shares the same race, nationality, and language as the informants (Labov et al., 1968; Baugh, 1979; Rickford, 1979). Monolingual speakers, in formal or constrained circumstances, may still give an approximation to their vernacular, but to obtain naturalistic bilingual behavior, it is essential that the participants perceive the interlocutors, setting, and context to be appropriate. Otherwise, they might just as well engage in monolingual behavior, which is, after all, another one of the bilingual's options. Simulation of such an appropriate situation, let alone participation in it, is exceedingly difficult and time consuming. Urciuoli (1980) reports that her experimental code-switching was considered "funny and wrong" by her informants.

Even when contextual conditions appear to be met, the data may diverge qualitatively and quantitatively from the speaker's linguistic behavior in the absence of the observer. The author's attempts to elicit code-switching (Poplack, 1978) were far less successful than those of her colleague Pedraza, an in-group member who has been involved in participant observation and data collection in a bilingual Puerto Rican community in New York since 1975 (Pedraza, n.d.).

Figure 1 shows that code-switching occurs about as infrequently with a non-group member as it does in formal speech styles, the least propitious context for switching even in situations of shared ethnicity. When the interaction takes place with a group member in informal speech contexts, in contrast, there are about four times as many switches.

Figure 1

Average number of code-switches per minute by speech style and group membership

Speech Style	No. of Code-Switches	No. of Conversation Minutes	Average No. of Code-Switches Per Minute
Formal	87	90	1
Informal (non-group members)	107	120	1
Informal (group members)	152	30	5
Vernacular	54	15	4
Total	400		

(from Poplack, 1978)

Figure 2 shows that switching is also qualitatively different with a group member than with a nongroup member. Single noun switching, such as in example 1 below constitutes the largest proportion of switches with the nongroup member.

1. *¡Cuánta gente se han quedado pelados que han perdido un millón de pesos en dos segundos comprando* shares *que bajan y suben!* (58/207)
(How many people have ended up broke who've lost a million dollars in two seconds buying shares that go down and up!)

Many linguists (Gumperz, 1976; Wentz, 1977) do not even consider such examples as instances of "true" switching. Indeed, with a group member,

Figure 2

Distribution of noun switches by raw frequency and ethnic specificity with in-group and non-group member.

	Participant	
Noun Switches	**In-Group**	**Non-Group**
Nouns out of total number of code-switches	24% (70/292)	65% (70/108)
Ethnically loaded nouns (from Poplack, 1978)	49% (34/70)	89% (62/70)

this type of code-switching represents less than one-fourth of the total. Even these single noun switches are different in the two situations. When interacting with the nongroup member, the speaker's code-switches were largely confined to ethnically loaded nouns that are difficult to translate, as in example 2. On the other hand, when group members interact, this type of switch represents less than half of all code-switching instances.

2. I bought *orejas,* I bought *cuajo,* then he had *morcilla y guineítos. . .* and the garbage ate it. (04/112) (Puerto Rican dishes)

It seems that the inherent difficulty of collecting data on in-group vernacular usage is not sufficient reason for the widespread avoidance of this methodology and the exclusive reliance on other types of elicitation. Three methods of data collection prevalent in the literature on bilingualism are discussed below.

Acceptability Judgments. Acceptability judgments are a relatively easy means of tapping community grammar norms. They may even yield information on structures currently used in a given community, although these may differ from standards for other communities. However, the respondents must in fact form a community, rather than an unrelated series of individuals chosen only to fulfill a number of extra-linguistic factors, such as sex, ethnicity, or age of second-language acquisition.

In this sense, the only paper under review that actually studies a community is that by Urciuoli (1980). The bilingual Chicano and Puerto Rican "communities" Lantolf (this volume) compares with a monolingual "community" may not be communities in either the sociological or the linguistic sense: the informants who constitute the first groups are students ranging in age from adolescence to young adulthood. The monolingual "community" he describes consists of ten educated speakers of unspecified Spanish dialects, but apparently includes at least one Spaniard and one Chilean. In the absence of further information, it is difficult to interpret this comparison and to ascertain its bearing on either the question of norms or deviation from them.

In any event, sole reliance on this technique in the case of overtly stigmatized sociolinguistic markers—which is the focus of many minority language studies—is questionable. Labov (1972a) has discussed the validity of elicitations and intuitions as grounds for linguistic analysis, and in particular, the conditions under which researchers can ask direct questions about grammaticality with the expectation of receiving responses that relate to everyday language. He is led to enunciate a principle of *subordinate shift* (Labov, 1972a, p. 111), which asserts that when speakers of a subordinate dialect are asked direct questions about their language, their answers will shift in an irregular manner toward (or away from) the superordinate dialect. In the absence of any other data, Labov concludes, one must expect that the results of grammaticality elicitation and introspection will be invalid in a number of unspecified and unforeseeable ways.

Ample evidence in support of the principle of subordinate shift is available from recent studies of bilingual behavior. Constraints on code-switching based on acceptability judgments or introspection proposed by Timm (1975), Gingràs (1975), Gumperz (1976), Barkin and Rivas (1980), and others have been disproved by studies of natural speech by Pfaff (1975, 1976, 1979), Wentz (1977), McClure (1977), and Poplack (1978, 1980a). Bilingual speakers studied by Huerta (1978) classified as "incorrect" the very code-switched utterances they themselves had produced. The two studies of syntactic deletion in this volume are based on this methodology. Both areas investigated fulfill the conditions Sobin lays out as a prime candidate for interlingual influence. The results of the study of gapping suggest that the syntax of one language does not appear to influence that of the other (Sobin); Lantolf's study of relative clause reduction claims the opposite. In cases like these, it may be helpful to investigate the relationship between what people say they do and what they actually do.

Translation and identification tasks. While translation and identification tasks may provide information on immediate reactions (Harris 1979), or on the degree to which speakers are conscious of an item's appropriateness to the first (L1) or second (L2) language, performance on such tasks may depend as much on memory limitations and cultural differences as on availability. Use of these instruments also raises the crucial issue of the "correct" response, which is impossible to ascertain without extensive knowledge of community norms. Arbitrary division of responses into "correct" forms versus others presupposes that there is only one correct response for a concept. A recent study of the introduction and incorporation of loanwords into Puerto Rican Spanish indicates that up to seven responses were possible for such apparently simple concepts as "garbage can" (Poplack and Sankoff, 1980).

Reliance on a dictionary of one dialect, even one that includes "well-known terms from other dialects" (Harris, 1979), is a questionable means of distinguishing "correct responses" from interference, or interference from integration. This fails to consider the specific linguistic features that may be characteristic of a given speech community and treats language as static rather than dynamic.

Even when community norms are known, responses to such tests may not always be readily interpretable. In administering a series of acceptability, identification, and translatability tests to Swedish-English bilinguals, Hasselmo (1969) found that many items showed low translatability and high English identification, yet high acceptability, even in English phonological and morphological forms. Similar and equally uninterpretable results were found by Murphy (1974) among Chicano bilinguals, leading him to suggest that the tasks themselves may be inappropriate in establishing language boundaries.

"Free Speech." Perhaps the most potentially misleading results may be based on data drawn from so-called free speech which, in some cases, can consist of as little as three minutes of conversation. In Harris's study, the informants were asked to speak in Judeo-Spanish, while the interviewer occasionally asked questions in another language (Harris, 1979)—surely not a typical bilingual interchange. Why, then, should informants be expected to behave "typically" here? More important, is it justifiable to consider their behavior representative, and if so, of what is it representative? Similarly, in Silva-Corvalán's study (this volume) of Chicano code-switching, code alternation is investigated in a situation in which the bilingual subject is constrained to use the language in which he or she interacts less frequently. The resulting behavior is shown to be different from the naturalistic switching phenomena studied by Hasselmo (1972, 1979), Pfaff (1975, 1976), and Poplack (1978, 1980a). It frequently follows pauses, hesitations, and false starts; it violates the equivalence constraint, but it also violates monolingual Spanish grammaticality. However, determining what real-life situations this type of behavior typifies is difficult, since it in a sense forces informants to engage in interactions that are admittedly not natural to them—i.e., to speak Spanish, the language in which they are least proficient, to interlocutors they know to be bilingual. Silva-Corvalán suggests that this type of switching should be distinguished from that which represents a discourse mode in a community. This author submits that this distinction may be made on the basis of the circumstances of its occurrence, rather than from its linguistic characteristics: the most that can be said at present is that it occurs in a limited number of experimental situations and may have no further implications.

Analysis

It will be useful here to restate another principle that has become the foundation of sociolinguistic methodology, the principle of accountable reporting:

> A report of a linguistic form or rule used in a speech community must include an account of the total population of utterances from which the observation is drawn, and the proportion of the expected utterances in which this form did in fact occur. (Labov et al., 1968, p. 70)

As Labov has pointed out, it is not the task of the linguist to explain or account for individual utterances, but rather to write the grammar of the language used by the speech community. The phenomena investigated by students of language contact—e.g., interference, influence, and change—are by their very nature quantitative. Researchers are therefore justified in talking about these phenomena if they are describing trends rather than isolated individual utterances.

In reviewing several dozen studies of verb usage in different dialects of Southwest Spanish, Floyd (1978) concludes that there are no substantive conclusions to be drawn, as it was not clear to what extent the examples provided as evidence reflected the respective corpora. Many studies cited only nonstandard forms; still others made claims with no supporting data. Bills (1975) has termed this the "Hispanic tradition" of language study, which he characterizes among other things by an "interest in the accumulation of speech fragments with little concern for linguistic or sociological context," and "almost exclusive interest in deviations from standard Spanish" to the practical exclusion of the standard aspect, "the bulk of the language" (Bills, 1975, pp. vi-vii).

While it is always instructive and entertaining to be presented with lists of "deviant" phenomena like borrowed words, such inventories do not indicate whether the borrowings represent 1 percent or 100 percent of the total lexical stock; whether they were used once by an isolated individual; or whether they have been fully integrated into the community repertoire. Such data can tell nothing about "foreign interference" and even less about its extent, contrary to a claim by Harris. Similarly, although Urciuoli says that "a non-standard variety of English" has developed among Puerto Ricans in New York from favoring "English structures that functioned like Spanish structures," no evidence is given in support of this claim (Urciuoli, 1980). Indeed, there is a good deal of empirical evidence against it (Language Policy Task Force, 1980; Poplack, 1980b).

Conceptual Issues

A second set of issues revolves around the conceptual aspect of the study of bilingualism. Perusal of the current literature on contact reveals that authors use the same labels to refer to different phenomena, with attendant theoretical implications. For example, in her study of "interference" and "language death," Harris (this volume) is actually describing borrowing and code-switching. In Lantolf's study (this volume) it is unclear whether the issue is convergence (as seen in the 62 percent of both Chicanos and Puerto Ricans who accepted the sentences rejected by ten educated monolinguals), or whether the situation stems from aspects of the test situation. Silva-Corvalán's informants alternate between English and an incompletely acquired variety of Spanish (Silva-Corvalán, 1982, this volume). Urciuoli cites a variety of English which she claims "accumulates structures that will map equivalently with Spanish structures" (Urciuoli, 1980, p. 7), a phenomenon akin to what is often called "convergence" (Gumperz and Wilson, 1971; Gair, 1980) or "grammaticalization" (de Granda, 1968).

Interference

More than a decade ago, Fishman (1971) decried the widespread and indiscriminate employment of the term "interference" by many linguists in reference to any number of bilingual phenomena.

> Instead of making the usual field work assumption that the underlying structures of the varieties encountered in bilingual speech communities were *unknown*, linguists have usually assumed that they *were* known, but basically nothing more than X "interfering" with Y and vice versa. As a result they frequently failed to familiarize themselves with the communities and speakers from which they obtained their corpuses of speech. . . . (Fishman, 1971, p. 562)

Yet Weinreich himself clarified his use of the term "interference" to refer to "deviations from the norms of either language which *recur* in the speech of bilinguals as a result of language contact" as follows:

> The term interference implies the *rearrangement of patterns* that results from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary. (emphasis added, Weinreich, 1953, p.1)

Today, "interference" is perhaps best reserved for a somewhat different phenomenon (as will be discussed below), while "transference" (see Clyne, 1967) captures Weinreich's original notion. It follows from these definitions that the mere existence of L2 structures parallel to L1 structures (which may be what Haugen, in 1950a, p. 228, calls "interlingual coincidences"), or the lack thereof, do not constitute proof of transference or Weinreichian interference. To establish this, it would be necessary to ascertain exactly the norms of the languages involved, to locate instances of "deviations" from these norms, and finally, to verify that such "deviations" are the *result* of language contact and could not have arisen independently.

Two of these conditions are far from trivial. The first involves painstaking collection and examination of speech as it is actually used in some community, an enterprise which can take years. The third requires careful historical and cross-dialectal comparison with varieties that have not been in contact with the supposed source language.

Weinreich recognized the inherent difficulty of the endeavor, when he cautioned that

> no easy way of measuring or characterizing the total impact of one language on another in the speech of bilinguals has been, or probably can be, devised. The only possible procedure is to describe the various forms of interference and to tabulate their frequency. (Weinreich, 1953, p. 63)

Despite the difficulties involved, recent sociolinguistic studies are beginning to show that it is possible to measure the impact of one language on another. Further, it can be measured in just the way suggested by Weinreich for bilingual communities and exemplified by Labov and his students in monolingual communities. These show that transference, while it does exist, is not nearly as widespread as anecdotal or nonquantitative studies of the same phenomena would have us believe—indeed, it may be limited to the acquisition process. In a series of quantitative linguistic studies of Ontarian French, a dialect which is sometimes claimed to be hybridized because of contact with English, Mougeon and his associates (1978, 1979) found that most of the grammatical expressions that appear to reflect the influence of English could be viewed equally well as natural, internal developments of the French language. Moreover, they found that even the limited number of expressions that could be attributed unquestionably to influence from English were used infrequently compared with their French equivalents (Mougeon and Canale, 1979; Mougeon et al., 1978). The same conclusions were reached independently in several quantitative examinations of the Spanish spoken by Puerto Ricans in East Harlem, New York (Poplack, 1978, 1980a, 1980b; Pousada and Poplack, 1979).

In a study of the acquisition of German by Greek and Turkish children, Pfaff and Portz found that even among language learners, the explanation of transference could be invoked only with regard to some syntactic structures that are realized through lexical items rather than general rules, i.e., a rather superficial process (Pfaff and Portz, 1979; Pfaff, 1980).

The term "interference" may best be reserved to describe an isolated occurrence that may be unpredictable, unintentional, and deviant from community norms (such as often occurs among L2 learners) as opposed to the patterned rearrangement of a system originally defined by Weinreich (1953).

Borrowing

"Borrowing," on the other hand, generally refers to interference after it has become accepted into a community norm. In this connection it is appropriate to ask whether there is a qualitative distinction between borrowed material that is "integrated into the code" (Mackey, 1970) and material that is in the process of being integrated. Judeo-Spanish is an excellent case in point, since a very large proportion of what Harris considers "correct" Judeo-Spanish is by her own admission of Semitic, Romance, and Balkan origin (Harris, this volume). The recent English and modern Spanish incorporations may well be undergoing the same processes as those that, over the centuries, have come to be ratified as "correct."

Study of the actual mechanisms of borrowing is particularly crucial in the case of languages like Yiddish and Judeo-Spanish, which are spoken in widely separated parts of the world and in each place have incorporated features of the languages with which they come into contact. The large numbers of English loans and loan translations immediately distinguish the Yiddish spoken in New York from that spoken in France; on the other hand, the New York variety is also immediately identifiable as Yiddish. Can these differences, undoubtedly due to contact, be considered instances of interference or integration, i.e., evolution?

One way to find out, as Mackey suggested ten years ago, is to ascertain how community members express a given concept. If, for instance, 90 percent of Puerto Rican speakers today say *voy a la marqueta* in instances where Spaniards might say *voy al supermercado* (itself a calque from English), it is reasonable to predict that the term *marqueta*, which has been phonologically, morphologically, syntactically, semantically, and socially integrated into Puerto Rican Spanish, will eventually oust *supermercado* (or more likely, *supercolmado*), where it exists. Thus *marqueta*, though historically derived from English, can be synchronically described as a Spanish term rather than as an "English word with a Spanish ending" (Harris, this volume). Similarly, "mutton" can be considered an English word rather than a French word with an English pronunciation. The difference between "mutton" and *marqueta* from this perspective is one of time frame; the people who were around to decry the entry of *mouton* into the English vocabulary are no longer with us. Today "mutton" is considered, by all speakers of English, to be as upstanding and correct as its doublet "sheep"; according to present indications, a similar outcome might be in the offing for *marqueta*.

It is apparent—and the continued existence of languages that have incorporated vocabulary from many different sources will bear this out—that phenomena such as these are not in and of themselves indicative of impoverishment of vocabulary, lack of resources, or language death. Indeed, they may indicate an enrichment due to the availability of resources from two codes. However, that judgment is an empirical one. For example, when asked to provide designations for a picture of a pig, a group of Puerto Rican children and their parents came up with *lechón, puerco, cochino, cerdo,* and "pig" (Poplack and Sankoff, 1980). On the other hand, when asked to identify a photograph of a hot dog, they provided *franfura, perro caliente,* "hot dog", and *oscar mayer,* none of which is of Spanish origin. This should not be surprising since the concept of hot dog probably is linked, for these speakers, to U.S. culture. But methods such as these can help researchers to distinguish between those entries that were borrowed to designate concepts or objects that did not exist in the home country, and those that presently may serve as stylistic alternates or a means of semantic differentiation.

Convergence

Convergence (or grammaticalization), which is an analogue to lexical borrowing on the phonological and syntactic levels, takes place in certain situations, while it is resisted in others. The most frequently attested cases are among the Indo-Dravidian languages. Convergence usually refers to adaptations on the part of one language to parallel another (usually superordinate) language, by favoring forms that most closely resemble those in the other language and eliminating those which do not. This process has been characterized as similar to pidginization and creolization in essence, if not in degree, and the languages involved in the contact situation may actually assume a different structural type (Weinreich, 1953; Gumperz and Wilson, 1971). In any event, convergence is very difficult to prove, even in well-documented cases.

In raising the question of how the reasons for contact between languages (and between their speakers) affect the formal results of contact, Urciuoli suggests that where there is a wide range of communication possibilities, there will be "abundant opportunities for transfer at all three levels, lexical, syntactic and grammatical" (Urciuoli, 1980, p. 16). Coupled with the fact that most of the contact is purportedly with nonstandard English, such opportunities are said to be responsible for the emergence of "Puerto Rican English," a variety that developed from "attracting English structures that functioned like Spanish structures" and that "provided convening points for code-switching" (Urciuoli, 1980, p. 11). Indeed, this functional syncretism between Puerto Rican English (PRE) and Spanish may underlie the development of code-switching, such that "PRE is the only variety of English that can be used so entirely in complement with Spanish" (Urciuoli, 1980, p. 21). Suggestions similar to the first have also been advanced by Gumperz and Wilson (1971) with regard to Hindi-Urdu-Marathi code-switching and by Lavandera (1978) with regard to Chicano Spanish-English code-switching.

Even setting aside the fact that nonstandard English is by no means the only variety of English to which Puerto Ricans are exposed, and the fact that code-switching involving Spanish has been attested in conjunction both with standard English (Poplack, 1978, 1979) and other languages (e.g., Yiddish and Hebrew; cf. Litvak, 1978), researchers cannot ignore the typological similarities between English and Spanish. The present lack of systematic comparison of so-called Puerto Rican English with other varieties of English makes these hypotheses impossible to substantiate. Indeed, what little information that is available about this dialect indicates that it contains features that are not traceable to Puerto Rican Spanish, Black English, or standard English (Wolfram, 1974).

The acceptance by Chicano and Puerto Rican speakers of Spanish sentences purportedly constructed on an English model (Lantolf, this volume) could also indicate convergence, particularly if rating such sentences as acceptable is to be equated with "creating Spanish innovations," i.e., actually producing them. This convergence (or divergence from standard Spanish, as Lantolf terms it) is said to affect Chicanos more broadly and intensely than Puerto Ricans, who represent a more conservative linguistic posture. In fact, of fourteen unacceptable sentences, the majority of both groups accept twelve. Of the two remaining sentences, both involve the preposition *en*, once introducing an adverbial phrase and once preceding a gerund (*en terminando nos vamos*). The latter, which is in fact the only preposition used with the gerund in standard Spanish, accounts for the greatest difference between the two groups: 52% of the Chicanos rate it acceptable as opposed to none of the Puerto Ricans. In deciding whether to relate acceptance of the *en + gerund* construction to influence from English, Lantolf concludes that the attestation of utterances like these in Spanish dialects outside the U.S. should not "automatically compel one to eliminate the role of English in the case of Chicano Spanish," especially in view of their long frequency in the spoken language. He suggests that English may have served as a reinforcing agent for the *en + gerund* construction, raising the question of the frequency with which his informants are exposed to constructions of the type *on/upon finishing* in spoken English. Indeed, one wonders how Lantolf can tell that contact with English didn't reinforce the *rejection* of *en + gerund* sentences by the Puerto Ricans, and that it is in fact they who approximate standard tendencies *less* closely (Lantolf, this volume).

The low frequency of this construction even in Castilian Spanish, already mentioned by Lantolf, could explain why 100 percent of the Puerto Ricans, whose Spanish has already been shown to be innovative in other (phonological) respects, judged it unacceptable. But the 52 percent acceptance rate of the Chicanos may indicate that they are more conservative in this regard than are the Puerto Ricans, rather than the other way around. It seems premature, however, on the basis of these findings alone, to characterize the responses of the Chicanos as the "creation of innovations" and to ascribe them to a "low level of resistance to linguistic interference" (Lantolf, this volume).

Code-switching

Code-switching is a different analytical concept from interference, borrowing, or convergence. When used spontaneously and unreflectingly—i.e., naturally—code-switching does not in itself involve alteration or merger of any of the codes in contact. On the contrary, code-switching demonstrates the force that keeps them apart. In constructing a formal grammar for code-switching and its rules, Sankoff and Poplack (1980) found that even in portions of discourse in close proximity to one or more switches, the speaker strictly maintained both qualitative and quantitative distinctions between Spanish and English grammars. Whenever a stretch of discourse could be clearly identified as monolingual, the rules of the appropriate monolingual grammar, and their associated probabilities, were exclusively at play.

This, of course, is in direct oppostion to the type of language alternation referred to by Silva-Corvalán as "code-shifting" (this volume). According to her, this type of alternation fulfills the linguistic function of compensating for insufficient knowledge of one of the two languages; presumably Spanish, since the only exceptionless constraint on the data is that the internal structure of the switch should not violate the rules of English. (Most of the Spanish portions cited, however, *do* violate the word-order rules of English: e.g., *tiene ella, ella me, le pegaron.* Other Spanish portions violate the rules of Spanish—e.g., *yo sabe,* an error no native speaker of Spanish would make.)

In fact, there may be no exceptionless constraints on code-switching, just as there are no exceptionless constraints on monolingual speech (particularly when performance errors are included in the corpora[1]). What is striking here, particularly in view of the quasi-experimental circumstances under which the Chicano code-switching data were obtained, is that there is in fact so little violation of the equivalence constraint, which indicates grammaticality in the two languages. Violations do not exceed 3 percent for the single-word switches; even for multiple-word constituents, one individual out of the four is responsible for the majority of the violations (Silva-Corvalán, this volume). It is clear from the number of pauses, hesitations, and false starts (which constitute 87 percent of all the data for this individual), that this person represents speakers with incomplete acquisitional histories. However, the precise degree appears to vary from speaker to speaker, not to mention a number of other interactional factors.

The conclusion that this speech behavior has implications for possible communication barriers between these Chicano adolescents and the members of their families or their community who are monolingual Spanish speakers is thus somewhat puzzling. The speakers report reserving their use of Spanish only for interaction with monolingual speakers. Yet the interviewer was not only a bilingual, but also one who constrained them to use a language other than the one they preferred. The conclusion is thus a nonsequitur. If the four informants do indeed belong to speech communities where they are required to communicate in Spanish, then it is quite likely that they will learn how to do so grammatically, possibly through any number of linguistic strategies (Language Policy Task Force, 1980). If they are members of speech communities where Spanish is not required or reinforced, then their abilities in that language may well remain static. In the latter case, nonnative competence would not create communication barriers, either. As Urciuoli (1980) points out in questioning how shared understanding develops when there is no mutual linguistic intelligibility, this depends on the degree to which two groups will have reason and opportunity to interact on common ground.

Language Death

Language death, another widely used term, is ultimately a social, not a linguistic, process which may or may not have attendant linguistic consequences. Where language death occurs by way of extinction of the people who use it, it may happen that its last speakers remain fully fluent. In other cases, there may appear a group of speakers who use the dying language in a form that is different from that of the fluent-speaker norm (Dorian, 1980). The latter alternative is by no means a necessary prerequisite to language death, as shown by Dorian's work (1978) in several East Sutherland Gaelic-speaking villages. In examining the most morphologically complex structures in this dying dialect, Dorian concludes that East Sutherland Gaelic is "dying with its morphological boots on." On the basis of her studies, she suggests (1980) that dying dialects exhibit the same sorts of changes found in "healthy" languages. But while the types of change encountered are not unusual, the amount of change may well be. Resolution of this problem would of course depend on establishing rates of change in both healthy and dying languages. Dorian further points out that while language contact may play some role in the changes undergone by East Sutherland Gaelic, the role is neither a simple one nor is it sufficient to account for all the observed trends, since certain reductions can in no way be attributed to influence from English (Dorian, 1980).

To cite borrowing and code-switching, phenomena common to all bilingual communities, as indicative of death is a gross oversimplification. The same phenomena described for Judeo-Spanish are also characteristic of New York City Puerto Rican Spanish, a language that no one claims to be dying; indeed, it is thriving—in the East Harlem community there are third-generation speakers of both Spanish and English (Pedraza, ms.; Language Policy Task Force, 1980).[2]

Implications

What are the wider implications of the foregoing remarks? Unfortunately, scholars have all too often used the study of languages in contact as a testing ground for favored theories or as an opportunity to describe change. This is a methodological bias which fundamentally does a disservice to communities whose languages may be thriving and evolving. These linguists are implicitly falling into the trap of purists and pedagogues who, motivated by a variety of other reasons, claim that certain languages are decaying or dying, or that their speakers are "alingual." In many cases this is simply not true. Careful, systematic studies show that, in general, cases of convergence are rare. Change may be involved, but there may be no reason to ascribe it to influence from English.

This was already noted by Sapir (1921) in his discussion of the impact of French on English. He points out that the "earlier students of English. . . grossly exaggerated the general 'disintegrating' effect of French on middle English" (p. 193) when in fact "the morphological influence exerted by foreign languages on English is hardly different in kind from the mere borrowing of words" (p. 201). On the contrary, those changes that English did undergo were largely determined by native drift. He concludes that

> so long as such direct historical testimony as we have gives us no really convincing examples of profound morphological influence by diffusion, we shall do well not to put too much reliance in diffusion theories. On the whole, therefore, we shall ascribe the major concordances and divergences in linguistic forms . . . to the autonomous drift of language . . . . Language is probably the most self-contained, the most massively resistant of all social phenomena. It is easier to kill it off than to disintegrate its individual form. (Sapir, 1921, p. 206)

In sum, the recent profusion of studies on bilingualism is a most welcome development. But this development can lead in one of two different directions: it can become a justificatory adjunct to much already existing negative ideology about the speech varieties it describes, or it can shed some sorely needed light on the language adaptations of speech communities in complex demographic and social conditions.

Notes

1. I will not enter here into the question of the validity of using what may be construed as "performance errors" in the study of (monolingual or bilingual) grammaticality.
2. It should be clear that I am not taking a stand on whether Judeo-Spanish is in fact dying; I would merely point out that no evidence in favor of death emerges from the data presented by Harris.

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Linguistic Variations

Sound Change: The Explanatory Value of the Hetereogeneity of Variable Rule Application

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Abstract

The processes of /s/ aspiration and deletion ([loh niño] for *los niños*) are applied most conservatively by educated Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Venezuelan speakers. On the other hand, uneducated Dominican speakers have a high incidence of /s/ aspiration and deletion. Puerto Rican speakers with less formal education, both in the United States and in Puerto Rico, occupy an intermediate position between these extremes of rule application. More important, however, the system of restrictions on the application of the rules illustrates the "missing link" between speech with two variable rules operating under functional and morphological conditions, and restructured speech without the underlying segment and without the variable rules in question.

Earlier analyses of Caribbean speech posited that the underlying segment was a sibilant (/s/). It is proposed here that for some Puerto Ricans, /h/ is the underlying segment with two phonological rules: sibilant insertion and -h deletion. Thus [loh] may be the underlying representation of *los*. The change of /-h/ to /-s/ is governed by style, whereas deletion of /-h/ is determined by function, length of word, and phonological context.

Persons who interact with these speakers must rely systematically on other markers in the sentence to identify plurality in a large number of cases, e.g., the -o of *los, algunos,* or *estos,* the -n of verbs, or the -e of certain nouns and adjectives. Once these alternative markers are widely recognized and actively used, the functional constraints on deletion are no longer needed and the /-h/ may be deleted categorically, and a restructured linguistic system becomes possible.

Teachers and administrators involved in the education of students of Caribbean extraction ought to become aware that stigmatized phonetic features, such as the aspiration and deletion of the -s that signals plurality in Spanish, are in reality manifestations of highly variable phonological patterns which are constantly being restructured. These pronunciation patterns should in no way be judged inferior to others, such as those associated with a more conservative standard variety of Spanish—which is considered phonetically redundant by speakers of informal Caribbean Spanish.

Introduction

Several years ago, researchers of Caribbean Spanish who used Labov's (1970) model of phonological variability could be satisfied with the profession's understanding of the variable rules of aspiration and deletion of word- and syllable-final *-s*. Certainly, the variability theory developed by Labov seemed to be the key to a satisfactory explanation of various facets of noncategorical constraints of variation. After all, structuralist analysis concerned only with allophonic distribution could not account satisfactorily for these phenomena. Not only were abstract generative accounts such as that found in Saporta (1966) erroneous, but also the model itself was unable to account even for the simplest of language facts.

Early work using Labov's model included studies of New York City Puerto Rican Spanish (Ma and Herasimshuk, 1968), Panamanian Spanish (Cedergren, 1973), Miami-Havana Cuban Spanish (Terrell, 1979a), and San Juan Puerto Rican Spanish (Terrell, 1978a). All produced nearly identical results with regard to the particular system of constraints on the application of the two rules. Particularly well documented was the claim that as the rule of deletion was adopted, speakers developed a system of differentiated application. That is, the surface manifestation of the plural marker *-s* was preserved either as a sibilant or (most often) as aspiration—not on the noun that was to be marked as plural, but on the determiner or any other modifier in first position. Thus the expected pronunciation of *los niños* was [loh niño] and of *los hijos*, [lo siho].

There were problems, however. Particularly difficult was the question of underlying segment choice and possible rule order. In fact, it was this group of researchers who noticed one unresolved facet of Labov's model of phonological variability. Given the three possible surface manifestations—sibilant, aspiration, or deletion—there are also theoretically three possible underlying segments: the sibilant, aspiration, or forms without the final segment. All researchers to date have, without explicit justification, assumed the underlying phoneme to be sibilant.[1] Sankoff (1980) has recently devoted some attention to this question.

Nor did researchers notice at first that within variable phonology there exists more than just extrinsic and intrinsic rule order. It is well known that one of the primary differences between "abstract" generative phonology and "natural" generative phonology is the latter's rejection of extrinsic rule order. But it had long been accepted that intrinsic and nonordering were the same. This is not true for interacting variable rules. For example, in the case of an *-s* aspiration and deletion, no researcher has proposed rules ordered extrinsically. However, there is a clear difference between intrinsic ordering and no ordering, as indicated below.

Intrinsic order	No order
s → h	s → h
h → o	s → o

Ma and Herasimchuk (1971) used the no-order model in their work with New York City Puerto Ricans while Poplack (1979, 1980) used the ordered model in her work with Philadelphia Puerto Ricans. The author's early work (Terrell, 1975, 1977) followed Cedergren in using the ordered model, although later work (Terrell 1978a, 1979a) was based on a no-order model. The author (1978b) argues explicitly against the use of an ordered model. Recently Cedergren and Rousseau (1979) and Sankoff (1980b) have investigated the problem trying to see if the data predict one of the two models.[2]

Another problem of quite a different nature soon appeared. The inadequacies of earlier analyses became apparent from more extensive studies of Dominican (Terrell, 1979b) and Argentinian (Terrell, 1978c) speech, informal Miami Cuban Spanish (Hammond, 1978), and Philadelphia Puerto Rican Spanish (Poplack, 1979, 1980). Terrell showed for *porteño* Spanish of Buenos Aires and for the speech of uneducated Dominicans that the constraints on aspiration and deletion were quite different from those found in other dialects. Hammond discovered much higher rates of deletion in informal Miami Cuban Spanish than Terrell found for more formal, educated speech. Poplack's work with Philadelphia Puerto Ricans was a serious challenge to earlier work; although she found that functional constraints were present in her speakers, rates of aspiration and deletion were quite different from the speech of educated speakers from San Juan. These studies forced researchers to reexamine their analyses in order to develop a richer account of the aspects of the operation of the rules of aspiration and deletion in Spanish.

Discussion

The missing explanation is one of diachronic transmission. For educated speakers in the Caribbean, the system of constraints on these two rules is fairly uniform. For the educated group of speakers from Havana-Miami (Terrell, 1979a), San Juan (Terrell, 1978a), Panama (Cedergren, 1973), and Caracas (Terrell, 1978d), deletion runs about one-fourth to one-third of the total cases of word-final *-s*. Aspiration is clearly the norm for educated speakers with the sibilant retained only in two contexts: between a determiner and a following word that begins with a stressed vowel—*los osos* (the bears), *mis hijos* (my sons), *esos hombres* (those men)—and at a pause—*¡Vámonos!* (Let's go). Otherwise, the aspirated phone is the norm even in word-final prevocalic position: *los niños* (the children) and *los amigos* (the friends). The *-s* of *los* is as likely to be aspirated before *amigos* (friends) as before *niños* (children).

In addition, deletion is constrained in two ways: it is applied to monosyllabic words—*vez, das, luz* (time, you give, light)—and it is applied less to the *-s* of the first modifier in the noun phrase, normally the determiner—*los trabajos* (the tasks). Although researchers have mostly ignored the first constraint, it is obviously due to the desire to preserve phonological substance in a word. The second has been called the "functionalist" hypothesis since it is said to operate to preserve a surface morphological indicator of an "important" morpheme. For purposes of this study, this will be called System A. It is the most conservative system, and is used by educated Caribbean Spanish speakers.

The most radical system from the point of view of phonological change is that used by Dominican speakers. This will be called System C. In Dominican speech of the capital of Santo Domingo, syllable and word-final *-s* in informal speech is almost never present. If the speaker does not know how to read, or reads very little, even in formal situations the word final *-s* is categorically absent. When speakers have an awareness of word-final *-s*, it is, as often as not, incorrectly inserted: *una flor bonitas* (a pretty flower) or *yos no hices nada* (I didn't do anything). For most speakers the rules of aspiration and deletion have been lost, with a completely restructured lexicon containing words without word-final *-s*. Plurality in Dominican speech is signaled by the following:

1. Quantifiers—*mucha persona* (many people)

2. Masculine plural marker *-o*—*lo muchacho* (the boys); cf. *el muchacho* (the boy)

3. A word-final *-e* when the singular ends in a consonant—*árbole* (trees); cf. *árbol* (tree)

4. The lack of a determiner is not in sentence-initial position—*una escuela de monja* (a school of nuns); cf. *una escuela de una monja* (a school of a nun)

5. The final *-n* of the verb form—*la muchacha salen temprano para la escuela* (the girls leave early for school).

What is the explanation for the change from System A to System C? That is, what would an intermediate stage, B, look like and how would this intermediate stage explain the transition? The purpose of this paper is to show that familiar Puerto Rican speech operates on the basis of such an intermediate system. Further, it explains the mechanism of linguistic change from a system in which plurality is marked consistently by a single phonological manifestation (System A) to one in which plurality is marked by a complex interaction of morphology, syntax, and discourse (System C).

The Transition

The first issue of interest is the surface manifestation of orthographic word final *-s* in three groups of speakers: college-educated natives of San Juan in semiformal interviews (FSJ); San Juan natives from a lower socioeconomic class (SJ) whose annual income is less than $8,000 (later divided into two subgroups—those with a high school education and those with only a primary school education); and Puerto Rican speakers residing in working-class neighborhoods in Philadelphia (PHIL).

A comparison of the three groups is indicated in Figure 1. For the FSJ group, N = 14,393; for SJ, N = 5,207; and for PHIL, N = 15,904.

Figure 1

Surface Realization of Word–final Orthographic *-s* (*-z*)

	FSJ	SJ	PHIL
Sibilant	15%	5%	3%
Aspiration	56%	26%	35%
Deletion	29%	69%	61%

An examination of the data reveals that the principal differences can be attributed to education and socioeconomic level, rather than place of residence. Between the Philadelphia group (Poplack, 1980) and the comparable San Juan group there are no significant differences. This is true not just for all the data in this table, but also for the entire system of constraints on rule applications.[4] On the other hand, the more highly educated San Juan group is clearly differentiated from the others in its more extensive use of the sibilant and its tendency to delete only one-half as much as other Puerto Rican speakers.

Speakers without higher education preferred not to pronounce final -s at all (69 percent and 61 percent respectively for San Juan and Philadelphia), while the majority of the formal San Juan speakers preferred aspiration. Note that no group preferred a sibilant and that all speakers deleted, although those with high levels of education did so less.

Let us now examine the phonological constraints on the three possible surface forms.

Figure 2

Phonological contexts

	Preconsonantal			Prevocalic			Prepausal		
	FSJ	SJ	PHIL	FSJ	SJ	PHIL	FSJ	SJ	PHIL
Sibilant	2%	1%	1%	18%	11%	8%	40%	8%	3%
Aspiration	73%	36%	41%	50%	19%	31%	27%	12%	23%
Deletion	25%	64%	57%	31%	74%	61%	33%	80%	71%

Again, the only significant difference is due to education, not place of residence. The less-educated Philadelphia and San Juan speakers are fairly indistinguishable. It is instructive to note that a large proportion of the sibilants used by the formal San Juan speakers were in prepausal position. The San Juan and Philadelphia speakers used the sibilant only sporadically in this position. This suggests that pause is not acting as a regular phonological constraint conditioning the appearance of the sibilant, as this researcher had supposed, but rather as a sort of stylistic constraint. Speakers with a high awareness of the use of a sibilant as a marker of formal Spanish very frequently insert it in this position, because pause allows time for articulation.

If this analysis is correct, it could be predicted that speakers would vary greatly in their use of sibilants in prepausal position and that the 40 percent represents simply the average of a wide range of possibilities rather than any central tendency of a group of speakers. A true phonological constraint should, for the most part, be closely followed by all speakers of the group.

Figure 2 shows that all groups use a sibilant slightly more in prevocalic position than in preconsonantal position. This is to be expected in accordance with weakening rules in other languages; i.e., weakening occurs more before a consonant than before a vowel. However, even though slightly more sibilants are used in prevocalic position than in preconsonantal position, the weakening (to either aspiration or deletion) in this case is almost categorical, even in prevocalic position. In fact, a vowel as such is not a constraint on *-s* weakening; the great majority of the sibilants in prevocalic position appear in the more restricted context of a determiner followed by a stressed vowel as in *los hijos,* (the sons), *mis ojos,* (my eyes), and *los otros* (the others). This is a well-established constraint for all Caribbean speakers (Cedergren, 1973; Terrell, 1978a, 1978c, 1979a; Poplack, 1979, 1980).

With the exception of this latter constraint and highly educated speakers' irregular use in formal situations of a sibilant in prepausal position, the study indicates the following conclusion: the real choice is between aspiration and deletion for both the San Juan and the Philadelphia groups. Furthermore, the phonological context does not seem to play an important role in the determination of this choice.[5]

The speech of Puerto Ricans as studied here suggests a reconsideration of the widely accepted analysis that the underlying segment is a sibilant and that there are two rules: one of aspiration and one of deletion. Although this is the case diachronically, it seems entirely counterintuitive to assign the underlying segment to a manifestation that Philadelphia speakers used only 3 percent of the time and the less-educated San Juan group, only 5 percent (see Figure 1). Even for the formally educated San Juan group, the use of the sibilant rises only to 15 percent, and most of these are sibilants used stylistically in prepausal position. These data point to another possibility—namely, */h/* as the underlying segment with two phonological rules: sibilant insertion and *h*-deletion. Sibilant insertion operates stylistically, especially for emphasis in prepausal position and, in addition, inserts /s/ between a determiner and a stressed vowel. The rule of deletion, as will be indicated here, is constrained mostly by word length and somewhat by its function.

In fact, there is a compelling argument that /h/ must be the underlying segment. The same categorizations of data from *porteño* (Buenos Aires) Argentine Spanish (Terrell, 1978c), show that aspiration is the norm in preconsonantal position, as was the case in the Caribbean. However, the sibilant is used, for the most part, in prevocalic and prepausal positions.

Figure 3

Surface variants of -*s* in *porteño* Spanish

	Preconsonantal	Prevocalic	Prepausal	
s	11%	88%	78%	
h	69%	7%	11%	N = 14,703
ø	20%	5%	11%	

In *porteño*, a more conservative dialect that represents an earlier stage of the development of rules of aspiration and deletion, the rule of aspiration of -*s* is governed phonologically following universal constraints for rules of weakening: the -*s* is weakened before a consonant, but not before a vowel. Note also that this system fits with the syllabic structure of Spanish in that -*s* is weakened (aspirated) primarily in syllable-final position. Since in a phrase like *vamos a ir* the -*s* is, in reality, in syllable-initial position, there is no phonetic reason for weakening to occur.

On the other hand, in Puerto Rican speech, aspiration is clearly almost as common before a vowel as before a consonant. In an earlier paper (Terrell, 1979a), this writer tried to explain this change as a simplification of the rule of aspiration, i.e., the context of application changed from preconsonantal to presegment. It now appears that this is no explanation at all: there is no reason to think that rules generalize just for the sake of generalization. What must be explained is how the aspirated phone came to operate in a word-final sense in prevocalic, syllable-initial position, in spite of the fact that this virtually never happens in word-internal position or with words whose initial *s*- is part of that word.[7] The only possible explanation is lexical restructuring. That is, speakers began to use aspiration in *los amigos* only when they began to associate aspiration with the word *los*. This is likely since aspiration began in preconsonant position and most words are used more than twice as often in preconsonantal as in prevocalic position. Thus, the speakers became more accustomed to hearing *los* as "loh." Slowly, they began to restructure their lexicon word by word. Once the word has been restructured, the speakers may use it with */h/* freely in prevocalic position.

At this stage, the restructuring of the entire lexicon to */h/* must be completed for speakers in the two Puerto Rican groups studied. Since some of the informants do read (at least one-third of the informally educated San Juan group graduated from high school), they are aware of the phonological-orthographic correspondence. Thus, they have an orthographic rule to write (and pronounce when formality demands it) an *-s* for word- and syllable-final */h/*. This analysis explains, then, the erratic and highly individual use of sibilants among Puerto Ricans, since the rule of *-s* insertion is not a true phonological rule, but rather a stylistic one. However, it is also clear that if the words are stored with underlying */h/*, all the speakers studied also possess a highly active rule of deletion. Indeed, deletion of *-s* is preferred by all but three of twenty-seven speakers in the San Juan group (and their deletion rates are a high forty-three percent, forty-three percent, and forty-four percent).

In Figure 4 the deletion rates of various groups are compared for the plural *-s* marker only (although lexical, verbal, and pronominal rates of deletion are not significantly different).

Figure 4

Rates of Deletion by Age and Education in San Juan

	Younger than 35	**Older than 35**
Completed Primary School only	82% (69%-93%)	65% (52%-84%)
Completed High School	69% (43%-85%)	49% (43%-61%)

The analysis shows that age is the strongest constraint, with younger speakers of both groups more prone to higher rates of deletion. Education is the secondary constraint.[8]

Deletion is a sound change still in progress and although higher education may slow down the process, a high school education does not stop it. It is also evident from the high rates of deletion that some speakers, if not all, are likely to use words without any phonological representation of orthographic *-s* in the process of a second restructuring of the lexicon.

Almost all researchers of Caribbean phonology have had to touch on the so-called functional constraints on the deletion rule in Caribbean Spanish. Speakers who delete any phonetical representation of orthographic word-final *-s* which represents the plural markers do so according to position of appearance in the noun phrase (Terrell, 1978a,c, 1979a; Ma and Herasimchuk, 1968; Cedergren, 1970; Poplack, 1980). Invariably, the plural markers on first position modifiers are deleted less often than subsequent markers. For example, in the phrase *mis primeros dos libros* (my first two books), the *-s* of *mis* would tend to be deleted much less (mostly conserved as aspiration) than the subsequent *-s*, which would be freely deletable, for the most part. Figure 5 shows that this is true for the three San Juan groups, and Poplack has shown that it is also true for the Philadelphia group.

Figure 5

Deletion Rates for Plural Markers

	Overall	First Position Modifier	Modified Noun
Completed Primary School SJ	71% (41%-93%)	49%	81%
Completed High School SJ	63% (43%-85%)	33%	80%
FSJ	14%	11%	44%

This constraint, although highly effective as a device for signaling plurality among the formal San Juan group, is only about one-half as effective among the San Juan primary school group and one-third as effective among the SJ high school group. Thus, although all speakers delete less if the plural marker appears in the first position, this marker is quite undependable unless one interacts only with highly educated speakers, a rather difficult requirement even for most speakers of the educated group.

This observation is extremely important, for it shows that even though speakers use a production strategy of marking noun phrases with a morphological plural marker, usually */h/*, the listener will not be able to depend on this */h/* since it is only variably present and, even in the speakers for whom the sound change is most advanced, may be absent almost half the time. Persons who interact with these speakers, although they themselves produce plurals regularly with word-final */h/*, will be forced to attend to other markers in the sentence or in the discourse context to identify plurality in a large number of cases. These markers are the *-o* of *los, algunos, primeros, estos,* etc.; the *-n* of the verb; the *-e* of certain nouns and adjectives; the lack of a determiner in post-verbal position; and various other sorts of quantifiers. This is the very system that Dominican speakers regularly use. What is important is that Puerto Rican speakers, because deletion has increased to such high levels, are forced to recognize and depend on this very same system for interpretation before they themselves have ceased to generate plural markings with */h/*.

There is, in addition, phonetic evidence that speakers are forced to use this system even in many cases in which the *-h* is still present. Heffner (1964) describes aspiration as a laryngeal sound with varying amounts of friction. If the friction is mostly eliminated, as in the case of Spanish weak aspiration, then the /*h*/ is simply a voiceless continuation of the preceding vowel. Thus, in many cases weak aspiration, for the most part the norm among the San Juan group, will be perceived as vocalic or even simply tempo lengthening in preconsonantal position. (In prevocalic position the voiceless transition between the two vowels is more clearly audible.) However, there is now no provision in the Spanish phonological system for distinguishing words on the basis of vowel or syllable length. Thus, the word-final /*h*/ (which is in preconsonantal position almost half the time) is not intrinsically salient in the phonetic sense. It is difficult to hear and even more difficult to use consistently as the basis for distinguishing singular from plural.

Conclusions

There are two factors that force listeners to use the alternate system of marking for interpreting the singular plural distinction: the deletion rates of many speakers are so high that /*h*/ cannot be used as a consistent signal of plurality; and the segment /*h*/ has very low auditory saliency. It appears, then, that speakers start to use the alternate system of plural marking even before they themselves stop producing /*h*/ as a systematic plural marker. Moreover, it is clear that once they start using this alternate system for interpretation, then there is a greater tendency for the functional constraints on deletion to weaken. The rule can then go to completion and be applied categorically. This, of course, forces complete lexical restructuring and results in the Dominican System C.

Puerto Rican speakers with low-to-moderate levels of education exhibit characteristics in their speech that help explain the diachronic development of the rules of *-s* aspiration and deletion. This paper has tried to show that these speakers, as opposed to perhaps Argentinian (and perhaps highly educated Caribbean) speakers have underlying phonological representation with /*h*/ for orthographic *-s*. In addition, the particular constraints on /*h*/ deletion, as well as its phonetic characteristics, explain how speakers are gradually forced to change from using /*h*/ as a primary marker of plurality to what is here called System C, the alternative mixed morphological-lexical marking for plurality. It is particularly important to note that change in the morphosyntax caused by the phonological rule must be carried out *before* the phonological rule goes to completion and that it is this change that allows the subsequent categorical application of the rule.

Notes

1. Only Hooper (1977), looking carefully at Terrell's data, suggested the possibility of an underlying aspiration. No one has suggested that the words are stored without final *-s* and that both aspiration and sibilance are the result of epenthesis rules, although this is, of course, true for plural forms that are assumed to be generated from singular plus */s/*.
2. Cedergren, in her paper to the Fourth Caribbean Dialect Conference (1979), showed that according to the Sankoff model either the unordered or the instrinsically ordered analysis was compatible with the data; she did not show which was correct.
3. Educated speakers, on the other hand, often insert a sibilant correctly in formal situations (Terrell, 1979b). Although the evidence is not great, it seems also likely that older educated speakers conserve some aspiration, although this is clearly abnormal for younger speakers who consider aspiration as *hablar como boricua* (to speak like a Puerto Rican).
4. The Philadelphia group is not included in all figures since Poplack often only reports probability factors rather than raw data. However, factor-based comparison reveals no major differences between the two groups.
5. Although the rate of aspiration seems to be slightly higher in preconsonantal position, this could be due to transcription difficulties in distinguishing between weak aspiration (or germination) and total deletion. It is probable that both Poplack and this writer were conservative in transcribing deletion in this position.
6. Most of these correspond to fixed phrases consisting of determiner plus a stressed vowel (very common lexical items in prepausal position), and sometimes an emphasized word.
7. Minor exceptions include *nosotros*, sporadically pronounced [nohotro].
8. If college-educated informants had been included in this figure, education would, of course, have proven to be the primary constraint. However, it is still true that among informants without higher education, the youngest delete more regardless of education levels.

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On the Contribution of Spanish Language Variation Studies to Contemporary Linguistic Theory

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Abstract

This paper focuses on the search for linguistic universals that is reflected in the data of researchers who have used a language variation framework of analysis. The author reviews the work done by variationists who have examined data from Caribbean Spanish, with the purpose of demonstrating that the majority of the studies appear to confirm the existence of universal tendencies of linguistic change. These linguistic processes follow two very distinct paths: phonetic erosion—the weakening and deletion of linguistic segments, such as the aspiration and omission of /s/ in Spanish—and communication maintained in spite of phonetic erosion.

The paper stresses that several factors must be taken into account in the study of dialects such as those of the Caribbean, which are characterized by radical consonantism: (1) the tendency toward consonantal simplification, (2) the tendency toward the maintenance of distinctiveness, (3) the patterns of distribution of articulatory energy, and (4) the successful attempts of speakers to monitor and alter their own pronunciation.

Educators who are knowledgeable about linguistic diversity, linguistic change, and the range of styles present in a speaker's language repertoire should be better prepared to teach Spanish to students who speak varieties of Caribbean Spanish. It is also important to realize that in spite of the linguistic phenomena that produce linguistic change, communication is always maintained.

Educators must understand how and why these Spanish language variations develop, so that they do not assign groundless characteristics to the variations. A basic understanding of language change and variation would help teachers and curriculum writers to make curriculum planning, the preparation of teaching materials, and the developing of test instruments more successful.

Introduction

At the First Symposium on Caribbean Spanish Dialectology, held in Rio Piedras in 1976, the author presented a paper partly entitled "*. . . Hacia un modelo NO sociolingüístico de lo sociodialectal*" (emphasis added; see Guitart, 1978a). In spite of the title, the paper was not proposing to do away with sociolinguistics. Rather, it proposed that the Labovian framework be integrated with a theoretical approach that would seek universals of language in the data.

At the time the paper was presented, many Spanish language variation studies seemed mainly concerned with quantifying the surface manifestations of a score of phonemes and rather mechanically correlating them with a number of so-called extralinguistic factors such as social class, education, and style. While these techniques were of interest, they did not appear to tell a great deal about language itself. In addition there seemed to be little interest among variationists in providing extensive theoretical explanations for their results. Instead, attention was often given to the effect of purely linguistic constraints on variable rules. The pioneers Ma and Herasimchuk (1971), working with Jersey City Puerto Rican Spanish; Cedergren (1973), in her extensive study of Panamanian Spanish; and Terrell (1975, 1978b), in his multiple studies of Cuban and Puerto Rican Spanish had all found that grammatical function carried greater weight than factors such as style and social class in the application of certain variable rules. Generally, for instance, the rate of plural /s/ deletion among radical speakers was not as great in contexts where misapplying the rule would threaten communication. In the utterance *Trajo unas muchachas francesas*, elimination of all plural markers would result in an entirely different message, but if the marker is retained—even as aspiration—*unah muchacha francesa*—the transmission of plurality is assured. In this case, the speakers did tend to retain the marker.

Recent variation studies, particularly those of Terrell (1979) and Poplack (1979), have discussed going beyond quantification and description to provide explanations for variability based primarily on linguistic grounds. This author shares with these and other investigators an interest in language universals and therefore addresses itself to these issues.

Poplack's dissertation (1979) greatly contributed to the development of explanatory models of language variation. It is the culmination of a tradition that started with Ma and Herasimchuk and continued in the outstanding work of Cedergren and Terrell. Given the general theme of the current conference it is fitting to point out that Poplack's study covers the speech of a U.S. Spanish community—a group of Puerto Ricans living in the city of Philadelphia. This paper will draw considerably from some of her conclusions.

In addition to providing a significant amount of data and provocative observations on the linguistic constraints on variability, Spanish language variation studies give dialectal descriptions that are far more accurate than those found in traditional studies. This is particularly true of Caribbean Spanish. Thanks to variation studies, linguists now know a great deal more about Caribbean Spanish phonology than they did just ten years ago. Of the Spanish dialectal complexes, Caribbean Spanish has perhaps been studied the most systematically and with the greatest accuracy. While some studies have not focused on the social aspects of language variation, all have contributed to the body of empirical knowledge of these dialects. Of special note are the works of Humberto López Morales and Bohdan Saciuk on Puerto Rican Spanish; Orlando Alba, Max Jiménez Sabater, and Rafael Núñez-Cedeño on Dominican Spanish; Francesco D'Introno and his associates on Venezuelan Spanish; Robert Hammond and Peter Bjarkman on Miami Cuban Spanish; and Mary Louise Clayton on Tampa Spanish. (For representative works see the bibliographic references at the end of this paper.)

This paper will concentrate on Caribbean Spanish phonology. This subject is especially appropriate to the theme of this conference since the largest group of U.S. Spanish speakers outside the Spanish Southwest are the Puerto Ricans and the Cubans, all speakers of Caribbean Spanish.

Caribbean Spanish Phonology

Certain phenomena in Caribbean Spanish allow us to explore some important issues about language in general. If linguists believe that language change is teleological—i.e., that it has some purpose—then it can be said that Caribbean Spanish manifests two great opposite tendencies in speech: the impulse to communicate a message unambiguously and the impulse to do so with the least amount of effort. Language variation data suggest that Caribbean speakers tend to preserve communication in the face of phonetic erosion, as is the case in plural formation. Such a strategy is termed "functional." The other side of the coin is phonetic erosion itself: Caribbean speakers tend to weaken and delete segments.

Again, in teleological terms, Caribbean speakers, compared with speakers of conservative Spanish dialects, tend to minimize articulatory effort whenever the need for distinctness is minimal.

The most salient characteristic of Caribbean Spanish, compared with conservative dialects, is the variability of consonant use in the postnuclear* position. The term "consonantal simplification" will be used here to refer to phenomena that occur in postnuclear position. Consonantal simplification

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*The term "postnuclear" is preferred to "syllable-final" because weakening and deletion can occur without the consonant segment's being at the edge of the syllable. Note, for example, *iŋstituto* (weakening of nonfinal /n/) and *ohtáculo* (from *obstáculo,* with deletion of nonfinal /b/). (See Guitart, 1980.)

has two manifestations. One is phonetic reduction, or the production of a segment requiring less complex gestures. (Of course, deletion is an extreme form of phonetic reduction.) The other type of simplification is phonetic neutralization, or the representation of two or more distinct underlying phonemes by a single segment that may or may not be identical with one of the nonreduced allophones of the phonemes.

Aspiration of /s/ is an instance of phonetic reduction: a glottal spirant is certainly less complex than an alveolar one. An example of phonetic neutralization is liquid gliding, or the realization of both /l/ and /r/ as [y]. This is characteristic of certain Dominican dialects, as in [áyg̸o] for *algo* and [páyte] for *parte* (Alba, 1979). Another instance of phonetic neutralization found in many dialects is that brought about by lambdacism, or the realization of /r/ as [l], so that both liquids are realized as [l], as in [álto] for both *harto* and *alto*. Notice that in liquid gliding the resultant segment does not resemble any of the nonreduced allophones of either member of the neutralized pair. In the instance of lambdacism, however, the segment is identical with one of them—or at least resembles it greatly acoustically. What is perhaps not obvious is that phonetic neutralization does not necessarily entail phonetic reduction. Lambdacism is a case in point. As will be apparent later, there are strong arguments against the notion that the lateral is a weakened version of the underlying flap.

One overall pattern of reduction in Caribbean Spanish seems to be consonant backing—that is, the tendency to realize postnuclear consonants as either velar or glottal. It may be the case that velarization is actually an intermediate stage in a reduction chain whose last link is the suppression of all tongue and lip gestures, i.e., all supraglottal gestures except for the lowering of the velum in nasalization. This has been hinted at independently by several linguists, including Bjarkman (1976), Chela Flores (1980), and Saciuk (1980). Caribbean Spanish seems to be heading toward the following pattern of phonological reduction, with minimal consonantal conservation in postnuclear position:

- All stops are realized as the glottal stop [ˀ]
- All spirants are realized as the glottal spirant [h]
- All nasals are realized as nasality in the preceding vowel [ṽ]

This tendency seems to be manifested in different degrees in Cuban Spanish. For example, /s/ and /f/ may be aspirated, e.g., [éhto] for *esto* and [dihtéria] for *difteria;* stops may be velarized or glottalized, e.g., [aktitú] and [aˀtitú] for *aptitud* (cf. Saciuk, 1980); and nasals may be velarized or may be deleted with nasalization of the preceeding vowel, e.g., [eŋtoŋse] and [ẽtóse] for *entonces.* (See Bjarkman, 1976; Guitart, 1976; and Hammond, 1976.)

If a tendency toward a minimal consonantal system with minimal distinctness does exist, it is counteracted in terms of distinctness by several other processes at work in Caribbean Spanish. The main one is, of course, deletion, which is the total failure to maintain distinctness. In the case of spirants the overall tendency toward reduction sometimes goes further than aspiration, resulting in glottalization with assimilation to the following consonant, as in [étto] for *esto*, and [dédde] for *desde*. This would further complicate a minimal system. Poplack (1979) points out that assimilation is attested historically to be an intermediate step between aspiration and deletion of /s/.

Another process tending against a minimal distinctive system is the application of the same reductive process to segments belonging to different major classes of sounds, which results in greater erosion of distinctness. Consider the case of aspirated /r/. Cedergren (1973) has shown that for Panamanian Spanish there is an intermediate step between the alveolar flap realization of /r/ and the aspirated allophone; this is a fricative /r/, symbolized here as [ŕ], which has also been attested in Cuban Spanish by Terrell and Hammond, among others. There appear to be two rules involved (both variable), as shown below:

- Spirantization of /r/: /r/ → [ŕ]
- Aspiration of [ŕ]: [ŕ] → [h]

If each postnuclear /r/ were aspirated, [h] would represent not only all underlying spirants but also one of the liquids. Throughout Caribbean Spanish one sees both appropriate solutions toward minimal distinctness and solutions that go too far. This can be illustrated by comparing the phonetic neutralization of liquids in different dialects. In a minimal consonantal system with minimal distinctness, what would be the representative for liquids? Optimally a liquid, either [l] or [r]. In Caribbean Spanish the tendency is toward lambdacism (/r/ → [l]) over rhotacism (/l/ → [r]). Lambdacism is associated linguistically with Puerto Rican Spanish, as Poplack points out (1979). She has discovered, however, that it is not as frequent in that dialect as might be expected, at least not in Philadelphia Puerto Rican Spanish. (On the other hand, Philadelphia Puerto Rican Spanish is quite representative of general Puerto Rican Spanish.) Parenthetically, Poplack (1979) has challenged the notion that lambdacism is an instance of weakening, and she might be right. For one thing, it does not fit anywhere in the chain of weakening of /r/, which is as shown below:

r → ŕ → h → kk → ∅

where kk stands for assimilation.

In addition, from the point of view of production, a lateral is not absolutely simpler than a flap. It is interesting to note that in the Poplack sample women lambdacize more than men, and that women are phonetically more conservative than men. Additionally, in certain non-Caribbean dialects in which postnuclear consonants are weakened and deleted, it is rhotacism that leads to the phonetic neutralization of /l/ and /r/, e.g., Andalusian [mar] for both *mal* and *mar*.

From the viewpoint of distinctness, lambdacism (or rhotacism) is a better solution than others that occur in Caribbean Spanish. The worst solution short of deletion is assimilation, which seems to be the most common one in Western Cuban Spanish—e.g., [kuéppo] for *cuerpo* and [ámma] for *alma* (Guitart 1976, 1978b; cf. Clayton, 1980). In contrast, liquid gliding is more functional than assimilation but less functional than lambdacism. In liquid gliding the surface representation is not a liquid but it at least retains the quality of being a nonnasal sonorant. In assimilation both liquids may be represented by an obstruent with which they share no features except the feature consonantal.

Variation in phonetic neutralization also occurs among systematic nonliquids when they are reduced but not deleted. For instance, in Caribbean Spanish as a whole, /s/ may be either aspirated or assimilated; nasals may be either assimilated or velarized, or realized as nasalization of the preceding vowel; and stops may be either assimilated or velarized, or realized as the glottal stop. However, as evidence of the tendency to preserve some degree of distinctness, it is common to find that speakers of a dialect do not prefer the same solution for different major classes of sounds.

For example, the Philadelphia Puerto Ricans in Poplack's study preferred assimilation over aspiration in word-internal /s/ but did not also prefer assimilation in the case of liquids. Some Cuban speakers prefer aspiration over assimilation for /s/, but for liquids they prefer assimilation over aspiration.

In his efforts to establish a basis for dialectal comparison within Caribbean Spanish, Terrell (1979) has shown that some dialects are more radical than others when it comes to deletion and that this is correlated with the educational level of the speakers. This is to be expected, given the conservative effect that awareness of spelling has on pronunciation. For instance, illiterate Dominicans are more radical than educated Cubans with respect to /s/ deletion. It is interesting to note, however, that relatively less educated speakers may be more conservative than relatively more educated speakers regarding specific solutions to consonantal reduction. For example, the Philadelphia Puerto Ricans in Poplack's sample, who have a rather low level of education, preferred to assimilate a nasal to the following consonant in word-internal position, which is the solution of conservative dialects (e.g., Castilian). But educated Florida Cubans in Hammond's sample (1976) preferred to velarize, even before nonvelars, which is seemingly a more radical solution. This suggests that the direction of language change is not uniform for all dialects.

If there is a tendency toward a minimal consonantal system it is perhaps being arrested at some points in some dialects. History shows that weakening and deletion phenomena in Caribbean Spanish were present three centuries ago (see Jiménez Sabater, 1975). The question is, when are the speakers going to eliminate all postnuclear consonants? Perhaps never. As paradoxical as it may sound, a number of variable rules in Caribbean Spanish phonology seem to be rather stable.

Certainly a major deterrent to phonetic erosion is the attested tendency to preserve distinctness when extreme phonetic radicalism would imperil communication. This is the functionalist hypothesis to which variation studies—and this is another major contribution—have given a great deal of empirical support. The examples are many. For instance, Cuban speakers in Terrell's study (1979) deleted /s/ in the first position plural marker (e.g., *unas* in *unas amigas*) only 3 percent of the time but deleted redundant adjective and nominal plural markers (e.g., the /s/ of *libros* and *varios* in *tres libros, varios amigos*) 39 percent of the time. In addition they deleted the redundant final /s/ of *nosotros* 85 percent of the time. And the Philadelphian Puerto Ricans tended to retain verbal /n/ when it was the only mark of plurality, as in *van a venir una (∅) muchacha (∅),* with total deletion in the noun phrase. In contrast, the same speakers tended to delete that segment more when it was redundant, as in *ello (∅) fuero (∅).*

Functional retention among radical speakers is of course evidence that they have not restructured their underlying representations; they share the same representations with less radical speakers. On the other hand, as Terrell has observed in this conference, there may be cases where such restructuring has occurred. For example his suggestion that certain Dominican speakers have representations without final /s/ seems highly plausible.

There is a well-attested case of restructuring from the history of Cuban Spanish. During the nineteenth-century wars against Spain, Spaniards referred to Cuban insurgents as *mambises* (*mambís* in the singular), as it now appears in Spanish dictionaries. This was said to be pejorative at some point. But the Cubans adopted the term for themselves and it soon became a synonym for patriotic warrior. They must have pronounced it [mambíh] or [mambí]. Today it means "a revolutionary soldier of the wars for independence." The plural is still *mambises* and it is so written, but the singular is *mambí,* and this is the way that it is pronounced and written, always.

Terrell has also claimed that for some speakers [loh] may be the underlying representation of /los/ and that there is a rule of sibilation that has applied in cases where the same speakers say [los]. It is an interesting hypothesis, although at this point the evidence does not allow linguists to ascertain its validity.

Phonological Environment

Turning to more empirical matters, another significant contribution made by variationists is the discovery of the crucial role that phonological environment plays in the application of variable rules. Investigators have found repeatedly that the rate of rule application varies significantly depending on the nature of the segment that follows the affected segment. It seems as if the tendency toward reduction is sometimes facilitated and sometimes inhibited by the neighboring segment.

For instance, Poplack has observed that in Philadelphia Puerto Rican Spanish, word-internal /r/ is aspirated more before laterals than before obstruents or nasals. She has also found—coinciding in this with other investigators—that word-final /s/ is retained more before stressed vowels than before unstressed ones. It seems that in the latter case, as well as in a number of other instances, the varying rate of reduction is related not so much to the segmental composition of the neighboring sound itself but to the amount of energy employed in its production. Stressed vowels clearly involve a greater degree of energy than unstressed ones, and it seems that in anticipation the consonantal segment is pronounced with greater energy, inhibiting reduction.

The relationship between articulatory effort and relative reduction is seen clearly in the fact that a segment tends to be reduced more when it is part of a longer word but reduced less in shorter words, especially in monosyllables. This suggests that the degree of consonantal reduction may be associated with the normal distribution of articulatory energy throughout an utterance. It seems as if the speaker has a certain amount of energy available to distribute among the different segments (or perhaps among the different syllables). If there are more segments (or syllables) each gets less energy. If there are fewer, each gets more and reduction becomes more unlikely. In syllable-initial position the normal tendency seems to be to maintain just about the same level of energy at the onset and the nucleus—i.e., if a strong vowel is to follow, a relatively stronger consonantal allophone will normally antecede; if a weaker vowel is to follow, then the consonant is normally a weaker version. In syllable-final position, however—at least for certain types of segments—the pattern seems to be to shift the energy level from more to less or from less to more. In other words, the pattern tends to reduce more before stronger consonants and to reduce less before weaker ones. This is the pattern apparently preferred by Philadelphia Puerto Ricans for reduced (but not deleted) word-internal /s/. Presumably, voiceless consonants require more energy than voiced ones; they are more tense and are never spirantized. Before voiceless consonants, speakers assimilate much more than they aspirate, but before voiced consonants the process is the reverse, as shown in Figure 1.

What is puzzling is that the same speakers delete more before voiced consonants than they do before voiceless ones when the opposite would be expected. At this point there is no explanation for this. The pattern of reducing more before strong consonants and reducing less before weak ones seems to be the normal or expected case, at least for /s/.

In many instances the distribution of energy runs counter to the tendency to eliminate redundancy. For instance, as noted by Terrell (1979),

Figure 1
Word-Internal Variants of /s/ in Postnuclear Position
in Philadelphia Puerto Rican Spanish
Percentages of Occurrence

Variant	Before voiceless consonants	Before voiced consonants
[s]	4%	2%
[h]	12	71
[ʔ]	81	13
[∅]	3	14

(Poplack, 1979)

the verbal form *es* shows a very low rate of deletion for its final segment—only 3 percent—even though it would not be confused with any other verbal form if /s/ were not pronounced.

In short, what the phonological context data show is that both the tendency toward distinctness and the tendency toward simplification can be affected by the seemingly predetermined way that an utterance must be realized.

On the other hand, speakers are sometimes able to supersede some of the physiological inevitabilities by monitoring themselves. This is why we need to consider factors such as prestige and style, which variationists have always insisted can never be left out of the picture. Anyone who thinks that rapid speech will invariably cause a high rate of weakening and deletion should listen to certain Miami Cuban radio announcers who, in the tradition of Cuban radio, can deliver commercials very fast without aspirating or deleting a single /s/.

Summary

Variationists have taught linguists that in the study of dialects characterized by consonantal radicalism the following major factors must be taken into account:

- The tendency toward consonantal simplification
- The tendency toward the preservation of distinctness
- The patterns of distribution of articulatory energy
- The successful attempts of speakers to alter their pronunciation.

By continuing to conduct careful analyses of the interplay between these factors, variation studies can surely bring linguists closer to understanding the complex mechanisms that underlie actual speech.

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Sociolinguistic Factors

Spanish Language Resources of the United States: Some Preliminary Findings

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The preparation of this paper was facilitated by NSF Grant #79-06055 ("The Minority Language Resources of the United States").

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Abstract

Since the publication of *Language Loyalty in the United States* (Fishman et al., 1966) no attempt has been made to comprehensively identify and analyze the Spanish language resources of the nation. Some of the events and trends of the past two decades warrant a re-examination of these resources. The unanticipated growth of sociolinguistic inquiry has enriched both our theoretical and empirical capabilities to conduct such a study today, with ever-higher scientific expectations. The ethnic resurgence in the 1960s, the advent of publicly financed bilingual education, the ongoing search for clarification of the language and ethnicity linkage, and the national need to develop cooperative relationships with Spanish-speaking nations justify a scientific reassessment of those factors on which the future of the Spanish language in the United States depends.

The National Science Foundation and the U.S. Department of Education have jointly funded a three-year (1979-82) research project intended to study and interpret the community institutions and networks that use and promote languages other than English in the United States. This paper extrapolates from the data collected on the Spanish language thus far, and presents a progress report on the research project's findings to date. The report includes:

1. Census data on Spanish-speaking populations (their size, distribution, and rate of growth)
2. An accounting of communication networks that promote the use of the Spanish language (the Hispanic press, radio, and television)
3. An accounting of community social institutions where the Spanish language is used (churches, schools, and community groups)
4. Content and linguistic analyses of a sample of U.S. Spanish language publications (what U.S. Hispanics read and the salient characteristics of their written native medium of communication)
5. A discussion of further research to be conducted on Spanish language resources (other research strategies that are proposed as part of this project and the kinds of data that they are expected to yield).

The progress report also discusses the implications of these findings and makes some projections regarding the anticipated outcomes of the total inquiry.

Introduction

Almost two decades have elapsed since the first empirical account of U.S. linguistic pluralism was conducted and presented in *Language Loyalty in the United States (LLUS)* (Fishman, 1966). This now-classic study established the subject of language maintenance and shift as a major topical subdivision within the total modern sociolinguistic enterprise. It also clarified the connections between that topic (and that enterprise) and such neighboring fields as American studies, ethnic studies, immigration studies, modernization studies, and linguistics generally. *Language Loyalty* has been seminal not only in stimulating language maintenance and language shift studies focused on particular speech communities in the United States, but it has also fostered the development of general theory on this topic, based upon international comparative data. Even more generally, it has fostered greater mutual enrichment between linguistic and social science theory. As a pioneering work, this publication has served as the basis for the development of four significant fields of inquiry:

1. *Modern sociolinguistic theory and methods,* particularly in regard to functional complementarity in multilingual settings

2. *Ethnicity theory and findings,* particularly as they relate to the "re-birth" of ethnicity after the mid-1960s

3. Theory and findings on the *linkage between language and ethnicity,* particularly in connection with the "unidirectional versus circular" debate over the relationship that exists between the two

4. *Language planning theory and practice,* particularly as they deal with the relationship between corpus and status planning.

All these fields drew upon the *Language Loyalty in the United States* study in formulating their own methodologies, concepts, and theories. The time is now right to reexamine this nationwide study in light of more recent findings in the areas of specialization to which it has contributed for nearly two decades.

Language Resources III

The Language Resources Project now underway at Yeshiva University has been designed to enhance theoretically and factually the original *LLUS* study in view of the above four perspectives. Three types of data are now being collected in order to determine the current state of non-English language maintenance in the United States relative to the early 1960s, as well as the interrelationships of the "rebirth" of ethnicity, non-English language maintenance, and language planning. The data correspond to three different but related methodologies which, when taken together, will test specific hypotheses developed over the past dozen years, update our understanding of the language maintenance shift patterns relevant to more than two dozen language groups in the United States, and provide in-depth treatment for the four specific language groups studied the most intensively in *LLUS*: French, German, Yiddish, and Spanish.

These three methodologies can be briefly described as follows:

Census data on non-English mother tongue/non-English use claiming and census-type data on non-English language press, radio, television, schools, and churches. These data are currently being sought from governmental, organizational, archival, and individual research sources. Data pertaining to the extent of mother tongue use claiming will serve to estimate the magnitude of the language pools per se: their relative size, their rates of growth or shrinkage, and their demographic and geographic distributions. Data pertaining to the institutional vitality of the various languages will serve to gauge the current macro-functional complexity of the languages involved. The researchers hope to determine which languages are primarily maintained as oral/aural media and which are literacy related; which have only secular functions and have religious functions as well; which are adapting to modern mass communication systems; and which are remaining at the word-of-mouth level. By intercorrelating data of magnitudes and data of functional diversity, the researchers hope to determine whether more widely used languages tend to be functionally more diversified than smaller ones, whether one set of functions tends to facilitate others, and whether the availability of certain media is generationally bound.

Content analyses of publications: an intensive study of four language groups. The four "focus language groups" are being exhaustively restudied via their publications in English as well as in ethnic mother tongues throughout the United States. This approach will provide in-group, intellectualized views of developments since the early 1960s related to several descriptive lines of inquiry. Issues of concern include the perspectives of ethnic-group writers on the increase or decrease of language maintenance; the writers' interpretations of the rise in ethnic consciousness of the mid-1960s and its possible consequences for language use; the extent to which general relationships between language and ethnicity have been assumed or specified; the influence of extra-group events on maintenance and shift; and prognoses on the future of language maintenance and related advocacy efforts. This approach will also provide data for linguistic analyses pertaining to the impact of American English on four non-English languages in print in the United States (and vice versa—the impact of these non-English languages on the English used in the publications of their speech communities).

Field observations and interviews with community workers, rank-and-file adults, and high school and college youth of the four focus language groups. The following subjects will constitute three subsamples for this part of the study: community workers such as writers, editors, teachers, school-board members, clergy, and lay church officers; rank-and-file adults; adolescent and post-adolescent community members. The researchers plan to conduct the interviews bilingually to the extent possible, and to tape them for subsequent linguistic and content analyses. These field interviews will serve to verify the quantitative content analysis and linguistic trends discovered in conjunction with the two other data collection efforts (census data and content analysis of publication data). In addition, they will focus on intergenerational similarities and differences, minority or antiestablishment views, and divergent interpretations of language maintenance and shift issues. A particular concern at this level will be to search out evidence of new or modified ethnicity behaviors or self-definitions on a situational/contextual or diglossic/repertoire basis. The possible appearance of new or modified language and ethnicity linkage interpretations will also be carefully explored.

The proposed field sites for observations and interviews in connection with the Spanish-speaking communities of the United States are Texas, New Mexico, California, Florida, and New York.

Five Demographic Dimensions

In Language Resources III, five demographic dimensions are being explored: the "Non-English Language Background" (called Non-English Mother Tongue prior to 1976) of individuals, ethnic community non-English periodical publications, ethnic community non-English language schools, ethnic community language radio and television broadcasting, and ethnic community non-English language churches (or local religious units). In addition, there is a sixth dimension that cuts across them all: comparisons across time. The fundamental interest is whether the above indicators show that these non-English language resources are growing or shrinking in the United States. In this last connection a seventh dimension appears—namely, interlanguage comparisons. In certain respects some languages may be becoming stronger while others are becoming weaker; in other respects comparative research may reveal common trends or tendencies for all non-English languages in the United States. Although the preliminary comments here will be focused upon Spanish, comparisons between Spanish and other languages will nevertheless be attempted wherever possible.

Language Resources III is only in its first of three years of operation, but it can already offer some preliminary findings that begin to elaborate on its research questions. The United States is still very much a multilingual nation. So far, the project has counted 111 languages other than English that are claimed as ethnic mother tongues by 35 million people in the United States and that are institutionalized through 600 ethnic community non-English periodical publications, 6,000 ethnic community non-English schools, 3,000 ethnic community non-English radio and television endeavors, and 10,000 ethnic community churches. With more than two-thirds of the project still to go, these figures can be expected to increase as more language resources are identified throughout the country.

Non–English Mother Tongue/"Language Background" Claiming

In 1970, 17 percent of the total U.S. population—35,000,000 in all—claimed a non-English mother tongue. The percentage in 1970 represented a 50 percent increase compared with that of 1940 and a slightly more than 71 percent increase compared with that of 1960. Indeed, from 1960 to 1970, the total increase in the number of people claiming English as their mother tongue was roughly 8 percent; the increase in the total U.S. population during this period was roughly 13 percent, but the increase in the *rate* of non-English mother tongue claiming (71 percent) was greater than either of the foregoing. This is noteworthy in and of itself, but it is doubly so in that it reverses the process of decennial decreases since 1940 in connection with non-English mother tongue claiming. The reasons for this reversal are not obvious; e.g., it is *not* due to immigration per se, or to the fact that most recent immigrants are still young and are having children at a far more rapid rate than is the nonimmigrant population.

During the same periods that reported non-English mother tongue claiming in the United States increased (50 percent from 1940 to 1970 and 71 percent from 1960 to 1970), the increases for Spanish were 320 percent and 135 percent respectively. This constituted either the greatest or the next-to-greatest increase recorded in those years for any of the twenty-three major languages for which continuous data are available. All in all, the census indicates some 10,000,000 claimants of Spanish mother tongue in 1970; this group alone represents 27 percent of the total non-English mother tongue claimants for the United States. Half this number was native born of native-born parents in 1970 (i.e., third generation or longer in the United States) and half lived outside of the West/West South Central region of the United States. While every generation of Spanish mother tongue claimants shows a dramatic increase from 1940 to 1970 and from 1960 to 1970, the major contribution to the *nationwide* increase for those years is made by the third generation. Thus, in the case of reported Spanish mother tongue claiming, the increases cover all generations—while increases for other languages were more generationally specific. Indeed, in many cases only those who were third generation in the United States showed an increase in reported non-English language use relative to prior years. This was often true despite confounding factors such as a relatively low birthrate in the second generation, or a prolonged time lapse since first generation immigration.

Seemingly, there were many language groups in 1970 for which claiming a non-English mother tongue use was a *Zeitgeist* effect—an attitudinal expression more than a valid representation. Many may have *under*claimed their non-English mother tongues in previous censuses or, conversely, overclaimed them in 1970. It may even be that not only did the general rise in ethnic consciousness of the time derive in some measure from the example of Hispanics in various parts of the United States, but that this boom also influenced and heightened Spanish mother tongue claiming as well.

In the mid-1970s the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES) initiated a new series of studies, now being continued by the United States Bureau of the Census (USBC), that stresses language use rather than mother tongue. While these studies have tended to confirm the results of the 1970 census (e.g., in 1975 NCES reported nearly 10,000,000 persons in Spanish "language background" households), they have also disclosed many additional facts—some of which should be very worrisome to those concerned for the future of Spanish in the United States in general, and outside of the Southwest in particular. That is, only 4 million people claimed that Spanish was their usual language. Further, of the 4.5 million claimants of Spanish mother tongue aged fifteen and over, 31 percent (1.5 million) were English monolingual insofar as language *use* was concerned. While that is actually a rather low percentage relative to language groups in the United States as a whole, it should be noted that among *U.S.-born claimants of Spanish mother tongue* nearly two-thirds of those aged fifteen or over are English dominant in the sense of usual language.

The rate of English dominance varies from region to region among native-born Spanish-mother-tongue claimants. It is at its lowest in Texas (40 percent) and New Mexico (51 percent); of intermediate strength in the New York metropolitan area, Florida, and Arizona (all 63 percent); and at its strongest in the North Central states (71 percent), California (79 percent), and the Rocky Mountain states (84 percent). Note that southwestern states are found in each English-dominance cluster, reflecting the diversity of the Chicano experience in the United States in relation to the Puerto Rican and Cuban experiences. This is true not only with respect to maintenance of Spanish as the mother tongue among the native born, but also for acquisition of Spanish as a second language in the community. Spanish mother tongue maintenance occurred among only 19 percent and 22 percent of native-born fourteen-to seventeen-year-old Hispanics raised in English-dominant households in the Rocky Mountain states and California respectively, but 65 percent and 56 percent of their peers in Texas and Arizona had maintained Spanish use. We must cease thinking of the Southwest as one undifferentiated Spanish "heartland" and realize that much of the dislocation that characterized Hispanics elsewhere in the United States is also present there.

One of the major factors distinguishing Spanish from most other non-English languages in the United States is the large proportion (50 percent) of people of "foreign-stock" (i.e., individuals who were born abroad or whose parents were). Only Chinese, Filipino, Portuguese, and Indochinese groups, among the major language groups in the United States, are more likely to be of foreign stock. The high numbers of Hispanics and the consistently large proportion of relatively recent immigrants among them certainly serves to slow down the Anglicization process, but does not stop it. Generation after generation, Hispanic parents who are themselves bilingual are less and less successful in securing such bilingualism in their children. When both parents are bilingual and foreign born, only 25 percent of their children aged four to seventeen are English monolingual. If both parents are bilingual and native born with two foreign-born parents, 40 percent of their children aged four to seventeen are English monolingual. If both parents are bilingual and native born with one foreign-born parent, 42 percent of their children are English monolingual. Finally, if both parents are bilingual and native born with two native-born parents (i.e., third generation and beyond), 55 percent of their children aged four to seventeen are English monolingual. Obviously, even when home environment is equated, generation still makes a difference; this is due to ongoing community change, resettlement, social mobility, and other dislocative factors. These elements are particularly injurious to language maintenance outside the Southwest, but there are certain parts of the Southwest itself (usually the Rocky Mountain states) and California where dislocative factors are most injurious.

Other Demographic Dimensions

While analysis of the other demographic dimensions is still very preliminary, it already suggests some interesting findings. Assuming that 60 percent of the total Spanish-mother-tongue/-background population resides in the Southwest, what proportion of communal Spanish-language institutions are in this region? At this stage it seems that Southwest Hispanics are generally underserved by such institutions and that the more literacy-related the institutions, the more underserved the Southwest Hispanics. Southwest Hispanics have only 40 percent of the ninty-five Spanish-language periodicals that have been located thus far; 50 percent of the 450 ethnic community schools; and 50 percent of the 900 churches using Spanish. On the other hand, Southwest Hispanics have 55 percent and 60 percent respectively of the 850 Spanish radio stations and 90 Spanish television stations. The tendency for Southwest Hispanics to be underserved as far as language-related communal institutions are concerned is replicated by Hispanics as a whole when compared with the entire universe of non-English-mother-tongue claimants/language-background claimants in the United States. Spanish accounts for approximately one-third of all such claimants today, but this population is served by 5 percent to 10 percent of all non-English-language periodicals, ethnic community schools, or ethnic community churches, by 25 percent of all non-English-language radio broadcasting, and by 80 percent of all non-English television broadcasting.

While the number of public service units for Spanish may be fewer than the proportion of Spanish claimants might lead us to expect, they might still be larger in volume (circulation of publications, school enrollments, church memberships, radio and television audiences). This may yet turn out to be the case, since data collection and data analysis are still ongoing. Even if these services do turn out to be greater in number, only oral institutions, rather than literacy-related institutions, may still prove to serve or reach a proportionate number of Spanish speakers. If this fact is ultimately confirmed, it raises once again the question of whether Spanish is sufficiently protected, fostered, cultivated, and dignified in the eyes of its own users to be able to withstand the increasing urbanization, modernization, and secularization that lie ahead for its community of speakers.

Content Analyses: What do Spanish Speakers Read?

From the roughly 600 ethnolinguistically focused periodicals identified thus far, researchers selected a sample of sixty-two publications pertaining to the four "focus language groups" of the study. The Spanish subsample consists of seventeen publications selected from among roughly eighty-five mainland publications thus far identified. Of these seventeen, four are daily newspapers, eight are weekly newspapers, two are monthly magazines, and three are quarterly magazines. Eight of these publications are in Spanish, one is in English, and eight are bilingual. Three are published in the Northeast, four in the Southeast, two in the Midwest, four in the Southwest, and four in the Far West.

The research staff receive these publications regularly and select a random sample of issues for content analysis. Once an issue is selected for analysis, its contents are broken down to isolate language-focused and ethnicity-focused entries. These are classified into ten journalistic genres: news items (found primarily in dailies), editorials, commentary articles (most frequent in monthlies and quarterlies and focusing primarily on sociopolitical issues and ethnic accomplishments), announcements (usually printed without charge as a public service), letters to the editor, reviews (usually of ethnic literary works, music, art, drama, and cinema), original literary compositions (mostly by contemporary authors, but excerpts from the classics are not unusual), columns (published regularly, written by the same author, and with a consistent general thematic focus), commercial advertisements of ethnic products and services, and briefly captioned pictures of noteworthy items not connected to text. Each entry is processed through a content analysis guide.

Discussions of Spanish language maintenance are not unusual, nor is an occasional comment on the impact of English on standard Spanish or on regional Spanish. *El Diario Las Americas*, published in Miami, runs a daily column entitled "Cuestiones Gramaticales" that deals specifically with these issues. Specific references are not as frequent to the ethnic revival of the mid-1960s and its effects, the renewed interest in ethnolinguistic endeavors, the language and ethnicity linkage, the nature of ethnicity, and the concepts of ethnic roots, ancestry, and biculturalism—but these are often implicit or assumed. By far the most frequent mentions occur in the broad analytic category of "ethnic community or peopleness." These include a wide range of references to the "mother country" presented in a spirit of transcendental nationalism that attempts to link U.S. Spanish speakers with Hispanics abroad. Generally, the treatment of Latin American affairs in the ethnic community press is far more exhaustive than in the Anglo American press, especially in reference to Mexico, Cuba, and Puerto Rico. Strong ethnicity advocacy is evident throughout the discussions of cultural pluralism; ethnic community social, cultural, and religious events; ethnic literature, music, art, drama, and cinema; ethnic social issues; political and economic accomplishments and setbacks; adversity of migration and dislocation; dangers of assimilation and acculturation; rejection and oppression suffered by members of the ethnolinguistic community; ethnic continuity through traditional behaviors, ethnic family values, and ethnic codes of ethics and propriety; and especially persecution of undocumented aliens. All publications seek to foster ethnic pride, and to this end most of them capitalize on the accomplishments of individual Hispanics who can serve as role models for the younger generation. Those who have made their mark in the worlds of entertainment and sports are especially popular. Finally, since most publications depend largely on advertisements for their survival, references to ethnic products and services available in the United States abound—especially references to Hispanic foods, entertainment, professional services, and travel to the "mother country."

Systematic linguistic analysis of the Spanish publications is still in the planning stage. A sample for linguistic analysis is being selected concurrently with the content analysis endeavors, and linguistic analysis coding instruments are being prepared. The researchers hope to conduct an exhaustive linguistic analysis of Spanish ethnic community publications that can later be compared, cross-referenced, and cross-validated with a linguistic analysis of the speech samples obtained in their field observations and interviews.

In summary, the project—while only in the preliminary stages—promises to provide many strong validations of the classic *Language Loyalty in the United States,* as well as some intriguing departures from it. The participants look forward to working on the remainder of the project, and to receiving their colleagues' encouragement and critical comments along the way.

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Mexican American Language Communities in the Twin Cities: An Example of Contact and Recontact

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The authors thank Ron Sousa for his helpful discussion, and also the spring quarter class of "Chicanos in Contemporary Society."

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Abstract

With the growth of urban Mexican American communities, the accompanying internal migration of Mexican Americans, and the continued influx of Mexican immigrants, there is a need to understand the nature of language contact situations that develop in urban communities outside the Southwest. Of special interest is the contact that takes place in the Twin Cities (T.C.) between descendants of early settlers (1920s-30s) who have not maintained Spanish and recently settled migrants who are maintaining their bilingualism. Using a cognitive anthropology approach (Tyler, 1969), researchers analyzed data from interviews of T.C. Mexican Americans to characterize the concepts used by these subjects to describe and explain their language experiences. The data reveal a situation of language contact and recontact which is unique to the Mexican American language communities in the United States. That is, the use of Spanish—disappearing among descendants of early settlers in the T.C.—is now being revitalized by the recent settlers, who have maintained their bilingualism. Findings include that: (1) the second generation of early settlers has maintained Spanish but has not urged their children to learn and use it; (2) the third generation of early settlers has not maintained the use of Spanish; and (3) recent bilingual settlers who developed pride in their language and culture during the 1960s and 1970s express a desire to maintain bilingualism for themselves and their children.

Introduction

With the growth of urban Mexican American communities in the United States, the accompanying migration of Mexican Americans across the country, and the continued influx of Mexicans to the United States comes the need to understand patterns of language change that develop in urban communities outside the Southwest. The Twin Cities (St. Paul and Minneapolis, Minnesota) are of special interest in this regard, particularly in terms of the dynamics of language contact. A recent increase in former migrants and other Mexicans from the Southwest has added to the population of immigrants who settled in the Twin Cities in the 1920s and 1930s and their descendants. The more recent settlers are primarily of interest for their revitalization of the use of Spanish, which was barely evident in the third generation of the early settlers. This revitalization can best be described as "recontact" (to coin a new term from an old one), and suggests a continuing relationship between early settlers, their descendants, and recent arrivals. Recontact demonstrates the possible influence one group may have on the other with respect to perception of community language experiences and the cultural traditions used by members of the community. The purpose of this paper is to examine these influences following a cognitive (Tyler, 1969) and communicative competence approach (Jacobson, 1960; Hymes, 1964).

For purposes of this study "two or more languages will be said to be in *contact* if they are used alternately by the same person" (emphasis added, Weinreich, 1953). In this study, the two languages are Spanish and English. The use of Spanish and English alternately by the same person implies at least two language groups or communities—one speaking English and the other speaking Spanish. When the influx of persons speaking Spanish decreases, or for any other number of reasons the use of Spanish decreases, then the use of two languages alternately will also decrease. That is, the contact of the two languages will be less.

However, when contact occurs again, there is *recontact.* That is, "when there is an increase in the use of one of the two languages [in this case Spanish], which had previously declined in use, then the contact of the two languages [Spanish and English] is revitalized and recontact is said to take place" (Weinreich, 1953). In Weinreich's definition, recontact and contact take place between two languages. It also implicitly takes place between persons, and therefore between groups or communities as well.

Language contact as a field of study has been discussed in Fishman's landmark work:

> The study of language maintenance and language shift is concerned with the relationship between change and stability in habitual language use, on the one hand, and ongoing psychological, social or cultural processes, on the other hand, when populations differing in language are in contact with each other. (1966, p. 424)

Fishman emphasizes that some language contact research makes questionable generalizations about the causes for language shift, language loss or displacement, and language maintenance, when in fact many complex variables affect the language contact environment. Studies of Mexican communities in the Southwest have found as many as seven factors (Ramírez and Castañeda, 1974) that influence the maintenance of "traditional" Mexican American communities:

1. Distance from the Mexican border
2. Length of residence in the United States
3. Identification with Mexican, Mexican American, or Spanish American history
4. Degree of U.S. urbanization
5. Degree of economic and political strength of Mexican Americans in the community
6. Degree of prejudice
7. Degree of contact with non-Mexican Americans.

The above factors have different degrees of influence on contemporary Mexican American communities in the United States, and have contributed to Ramírez and Castañeda's classification of Mexican American communities as traditional, dualistic, and atraditional.

The many studies of the language of Mexican Americans have attempted to describe regional characteristics, lexical borrowings from English, interference from other languages, the effect of Mexican American Spanish and Mexican American English on bilingual education programs, and the functions of Spanish and English in Mexican American communities (Barker, 1972; Elías-Olivares, 1976; Huerta, 1978; and González, 1975).

In Minnesota there are an estimated 49,500 persons of Spanish-speaking heritage (Minnesota, 1976). This figure, however,

> only reflects the number of permanent Minnesota residents and swells by 10,000 to 15,000 when Latino migrants from the Southwest come into the state to help harvest the crops. The Minnesota Migrant Council has developed a "settle-out" program that helps migrants who want to stay in the state find vocational training and a place to live. About 15 percent of migrants who come to harvest each year decide to settle permanently, according to the Minnesota Office of Migrant Affairs. (St. Paul Public Schools, 1977, p. 22)

About 10,000 persons of Spanish-speaking heritage live in St. Paul's West Side, and one-third of them have moved to St. Paul since 1965 (St. Paul Public Schools, 1977, p. 15).

The first permanent Hispanic settlement was established on St. Paul's West Side in 1916 (Saucedo, 1977). The pioneer Mexican Americans first came to Minnesota to work in the railroads, agricultural fields, and various industries such as meat packing, canning, and munitions. Upon settling in St. Paul, early Mexican Americans set up groups for social, religious, and cultural activities. Organizations such as the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC), the Anahuac and Azteca Clubs, and Our Lady of Guadalupe Society have helped people maintain language and cultural roots. Many interviews conducted in the 1970s with these pioneers specifically mention the important role played by the community organizations.

Recently, according to Saucedo, with the continual influx of Mexican Americans, use of Spanish seems to have increased. About 125 migrant families per year (600 to 700 persons) have attempted to "settle out" of the migrant stream into St. Paul. And despite such physical barriers as industrial parks, highways, and bridges that divide the Mexican American community and force some members to relocate to other parts of the city, the community has continued its use of Spanish and contact with new groups of Mexican Americans. In 1959, it was estimated that 92 percent of second generation Mexican Americans thought that their children should learn Spanish. Also, it was found that 88 percent of first generation and 68 percent of second generation persons spoke Spanish at home, while 76 percent of first generation, and 48 percent of second generation, spoke Spanish at work (Goldner, 1959). A 1977 survey by the St. Paul public schools indicated that 84 percent of parents or guardians are either Spanish dominant or bilingual and use Spanish frequently at home (St. Paul Public Schools, 1977).

Methodology

The study reported here was a heuristic and ethnographic investigation designed to yield hypothesis-building categories that can be further tested in studies of communicative competence in the same population. (See Araujo Pereira, 1979; Jakobson, 1960; Hymes, 1964; and Sanches and Blount, 1975, for more on the heuristic and ethnographic methods and for examples of ethnographic studies of language.)

In the spring of 1980, students in the University of Minnesota's course on "Chicanos in Contemporary Society," as part of a family structure project, were asked to interview thirteen members of the Twin Cities Mexican American community. (Use of the term "community" includes the notion of intracultural variation—that is, variation within the community is implied; cf. Ramírez and Castañeda, 1974.) The methods used by the students to find interview subjects included, but were not limited to, contacting and interviewing class members, relatives, friends of class members, community center workers, persons recommended by friends and relatives, and persons recommended by community centers.

The students were provided with a list of topics and subtopics (such as family history, occupational history, and child-care practices) from which they could plan a set of questions for the interview. The students also read and discussed professional literature on Latin American, Mexican, and Mexican American family structure. The students themselves planned their questions, contacted interviewees, and explained the purpose of the interview as part of the class project. All interviews were tape-recorded and varied in length from fifteen minutes to almost an hour and a half.

Analysis of the interview data showed that most of the interviews included information about language experiences, cultural concepts, and categories concerning language contact. Considering that little research is available on the language contact experiences of Mexican Americans in the midwestern United States, the investigators decided to approach the data from an ethnographic and cognitive anthropology framework, and to ask, "How do Mexican Americans in the Twin Cities talk about their contact experiences—especially in terms of language and cultural identification?"

The objective of the ethnographic approach was to further analyze the data to determine the respondents' perceptions of their own history, their experiences with the Spanish and English languages, their experiences with the Mexican and non-Mexican communities, and their perceptions of those experiences. There was a special focus on identifying the settlement and contact patterns of the speakers, and the functions of language in the speakers' social experiences.

The preliminary analysis showed that the thirteen subjects included both recent and older settlers in the Twin Cities. These subjects were divided into three groups for purposes of discussion. Group 1, containing two members, included those subjects who came to the area as young persons in the 1920s and 1930s. Group 2, containing three members, included persons who had been born in the United States and had at least one parent who had also been born in this country. Group 3, comprising eight members, consisted of young adults who were recent settlers in the Twin Cities. It should be noted that these categories were determined by general settlement and contact patterns, and do not include an analysis of detailed features within these categories.

The primary purpose of this study was to explore the categories conceptualized by the interviewees, so that future analyses can contribute to the understanding of language experiences and conceptualizations of the Mexican American language community members in the Twin Cities. Since this sample was not random, no claim is made that the findings represent the Mexican American population. The findings, however, do reflect experiences of members of different segments of the population, and as such are intended to generate hypotheses that can be explored in future studies.

Findings: Group 1

Proposition 1

Persons who settled in the Twin Cities early in the 1920s and 1930s have maintained their bilingualism and their cultural identification, though they have not necessarily encouraged their children to become bilingual.

Summary of Group Characteristics. As illustrated in Figures 1-A and 1-B, persons in Group 1 have been living in the Twin Cities for about fifty years and have maintained their bilingualism. Subject 1-A, a seventy-year-old female, grew up in a rural community in the Southwest and came to the Midwest because of railroad and farm work available there in the 1920s. After coming to the state, subject 1-A's family did farm work in rural Minnesota in the summer and moved to urban Minnesota in the winter. Subject 1-B, a forty-three-year-old female born in Minnesota, was the second generation of her family in the Midwest. She worked in rural farming communities in the state in the summer and was unemployed in the winter, living in the Twin Cities. Currently, subject 1-B lives and works year-round in the Twin Cities. While of different generations, these two subjects share the characteristic of having settled in the Twin Cities early as "pioneers."

Discussion

When speaking of language, both 1-A and 1-B stated that Spanish was spoken at home, though 1-B mentioned that she did not make the effort to teach her children Spanish because she had had "bad" experiences in school:

> I didn't name them [the children] really Spanish names, because I had such a hard time with mine. They couldn't pronounce it . . . they wanted me to change my name and so. . . .

Yet 1-B was in favor of the present-day bilingual programs because she felt they help the children not to be as "lost" as she was:

> These bilingual programs they have, it's really good for them now, and I think it has helped to change things an awful lot. Because they're not lost. 'Cause I felt lost . . . and then you feel "oh, I'm so dumb, I'm so stupid." But it wasn't bad, it was just that I missed it all when I was little, and I should have got it . . . I don't know if you ever heard of this school . . . for slow learners . . . and so a lot of the Mexican children were just put in there right away. But it wasn't that they were slow; it was that we were missing language. English.

She also felt that the teachers were not helpful with the children who spoke only Spanish:

> And then the teachers, some of them were really mean with us. Because they had to, really, if they wanted us to get anything, they had to pay more attention to us. And they didn't want to do that.

An important and happy time in 1-A's life was when she learned how to read and write in Spanish:

> He [father] would sit my sister and me . . . to read to him in English. And then he had a friend of his come in and teach us how to read and write in Spanish. And that's how I learned to read and write, so that we could read the paper, the Mexican paper, to him. He used to call me the *perico,* because, like a parrot, he used to love to hear me talk and read to him in Spanish. And then if he wanted me to read in English too, the American paper, then he'd just love it, because I was like a parrot.

She also related a "funny story" her mother had told her about the difficulty of shopping when the family first arrived in the Twin Cities. Subject 1-A said that her mother "couldn't explain to them when she used to buy groceries" and would have trouble saying the word "eggs," being understood as "legs" instead. Subject 1-A later added that "by the time she died," her mother "at least understood" English.

In terms of cultural concepts and categories other than language use, one important tradition that frequently came up was that of family closeness:

> It's very sad for the older people to grow old . . . and remember all those good times you had . . . and how times have changed, how your family is staying away. . . . It is the Mexican tradition that everybody used to get together, and in this day and age all our children are modern.

Not only family closeness, but closeness to other Mexican people was important, too, according to 1-A:

> We always lived among the Mexican people. My father always made a point to live where there was a group of Mexican people. There's always been communities of Mexicans.

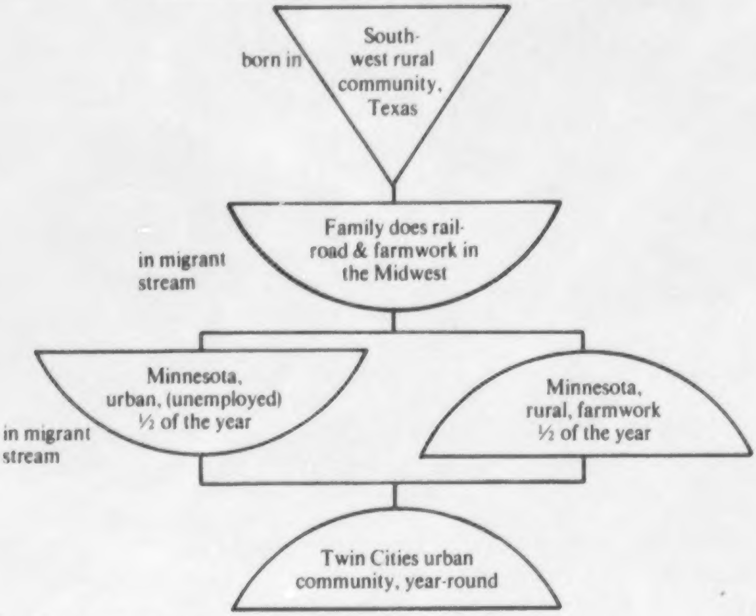
One way of maintaining a closeness with other Mexican people was to visit Mexico often, as both 1-A and 1-B did:

> He [spouse] was always wanting to go to Mexico; he was always looking for his brother, a brother he thought was living. . . . After that, every time he had a vacation, we'd go to Mexico. (1-A)

> I went to Mexico before I got married, with my father, and I met a lot of my cousins and a lot of his brothers. . . . And it was really nice and interesting to know you had so many cousins over there! . . . You could see the resemblance. (1-B)

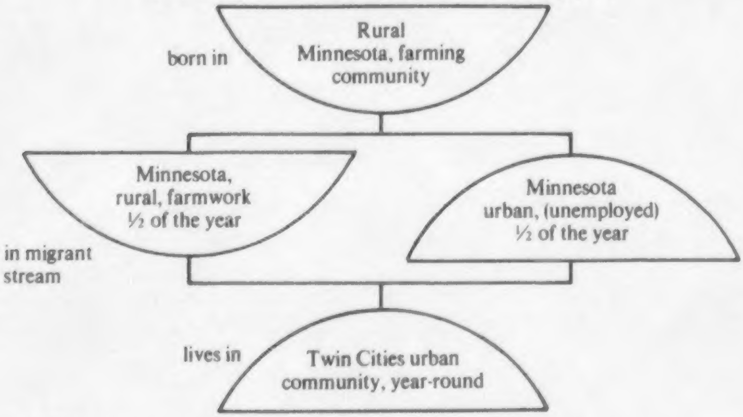
Language and cultural concepts are often difficult to separate, however; 1-B explained, for example, that the reason her husband wanted to learn English was that he wanted to become a citizen. When describing her husband's problems in pronouncing words well in Spanish, 1-B seemed to change her evaluation of his speech after reflecting upon how well he did when they went to Mexico.

Figure 1–A
Settlement Pattern of 70–Year–Old Female*


South-west rural community, Texas
born in
Family does railroad & farmwork in the Midwest
in migrant stream
Minnesota, urban, (unemployed) ½ of the year
in migrant stream
Minnesota, rural, farmwork ½ of the year
Twin Cities urban community, year-round

*This person was in migrant stream in 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s.

Figure 1–B
Settlement Pattern of 43–Year–Old Female**


born in
Rural Minnesota, farming community
Minnesota, rural, farmwork ½ of the year
in migrant stream
Minnesota urban, (unemployed) ½ of the year
lives in
Twin Cities urban community, year-round

**This person was in migrant stream in 1930s and 1940s.

Summary

Group 1 includes persons who spoke Spanish at home when growing up, maintained their bilingualism, were migrants for a large part of their lives, and maintained their cultural identification. Cultural identification was evidenced by reference to cultural concepts such as closeness of family, contact with Mexico, and narratives of prejudice in contact with persons outside the Mexican American community, such as teachers.

Findings: Group 2

Proposition 2

Persons who are second or third generation descendants of early settlers in the Twin Cities have maintained their bilingualism and their cultural identification to a lesser degree than persons in Group 1, unless some recontact has taken place.

Summary of Group Characteristics. As illustrated in Figures 2-A, 2-B, and 2-C, all persons in Group 2 were born and grew up in the Twin Cities. All had at least one parent who was born in the United States, and both parents of subjects 2-A and 2-C were born in the United States. The subjects learned the majority, if not all, of their Spanish from formal classes in high school or college. None of the persons in this group has lived in the Southwest or Mexico and none has lived in rural or migrant settings. All were in their twenties and thirties.

Figure 2-A
Settlement Pattern of 26-Year-Old Female

Born in
Twin Cities urban community
grew up in
Twin Cities urban community

father born in Oklahoma
mother born in Minnesota

Figure 2-B
Settlement Pattern of 21-Year-Old Female

Born in
Twin Cities urban community
grew up in
Twin Cities urban community

father born in Mexico
mother born in Texas

Figure 2-C
Settlement Pattern of 38-Year-Old Male

Born in
Twin Cities urban community
grew up in
Twin Cities urban community

father born in Texas
mother born in Texas

Discussion

Reference to speaking Spanish was not as prominent among persons in Group 2 as it was in Group 1. For subject 2-A, a twenty-six-year-old female, Spanish was an enjoyable subject of study in college, though it wasn't easy. Subject 2-B, a twenty-one-year-old female, said she did not learn Spanish from her family. She also made the following response when asked about her grandparents:

> They hardly speak any English at all, so it's kind of hard for me to communicate with them.

Subject 2-C, a thirty-eight-year-old male, had recontact with newly arrived Mexican Americans through university classes. He had a fuller explanation of his language use when speaking of his mother's side of the family:

> . . . It was a problem; when they were kids, a lot of people who spoke Spanish couldn't speak English. They had problems with school. And so the purpose of their not teaching us Spanish or being bilingual was . . . they thought if we're Americans, we should speak English.

In fact, 2-C later commented that his mother is very conservative, and is against bilingual education.

When speaking of cultural traditions other than language use, 2-A said that she did not get together very often with relatives. However, she did seem to identify with the Mexican American population when asked about moving:

> The first time I remember moving was because they were tearing down our whole part of town. They decided it was a ghetto, and forced the Mexican population out of what's now known as the Riverview Industrial Park in St. Paul.

This comment by 2-A seems to indicate a pride in the Mexican culture, as evidenced by the phrase "they decided it was a ghetto." This implied that this was a perspective held by an outsider and as such was not accurate, fair, or sensitive to the Mexican community. On the other hand, 2-B's comments are mixed, and seem to indicate that she may be less informed about Mexico and Mexican American culture, evidenced by the apparently pejorative comment about relatives on a farm in Mexico not being very "modern":

> They think it's a big thing to have an electric beater . . . they don't have heating in their homes; they just have little floor heaters.

Subject 2-B's most recent visit to Mexico was to Acapulco, not to visit relatives at all. But about celebrating Mexican holidays, she says:

> There's a restaurant called García's and they usually have a big party like today [the Fifth of May, commemorating the Mexican triumph over the French army at the Battle of Puebla]. Lot of relatives . . . lot of Mexican people go down there and celebrate.

And when asked about conflicts related to being Mexican, 2-B said that in high school the students were "offensive" and "called names."

Subject 2-C made much more reference to cultural identification and cultural concepts. At one point 2-C compared his mother's side of the family with his father's side:

> When you talk about cultural things, my mother's side . . . was less Mexican than my father's side. . . . My father's side were more accepting of themselves, and my mother's side were more American, more striving to . . . get ahead.

He also compared the two Mexican neighborhoods in St. Paul:

> My father's family lived on the West Side, and my mother's family lived on the East Side . . . and they never got along. [This statement referred to the two communities, not the families, as clarified by the interviewer.]

When speaking of his mother and her sisters and their families, 2-C said that they don't understand "Mexican values at all." When asked what a Mexican value is, he referred to a family being friends:

> That you be friends with your family. I could never understand why they always had all these different people at their [the mother's sister's] house. They would always invite all these people over. White people, you know. And not Mexican people. And I couldn't understand that. How could they do that? And sometimes they'd take a kid who wasn't a relative on vacation with them. One of their friend's sons. That was incomprehensible to me. . . . And I would say that a Mexican value would be the tendency not to invite strangers over to the house.

However, 2-C qualified that statement above by saying that of course he has friends, but "I'm aware of the value . . . the difference between the Mexican culture and the dominant culture."

With respect to celebrating Mexican holidays, 2-C says that his family didn't celebrate the "Cinco de Mayo":

> That's only something new that's been established here in the last ten years. There's always been a September 16th [Mexican Independence Day] and a celebration around that time, but I don't think it's ever been a really strong thing in this community; it's starting to get strong now, for some reason. Because people are accepting of what they are, I think.

And finally, 2-C mentioned that since his mother died a year or so earlier it seemed that the family is together less. However, he did say that he still gets together with "a couple of aunts and uncles, cousins, lots of cousins, my brother and sister, my dad," all of whom live in the Twin Cities.

Summary

Group 2 includes persons who lived their entire lives in the urban Twin Cities, and who grew up speaking English at home, although all had some extended family (grandparents, aunts, and uncles) also living in the area and at times under the same roof. Although all persons in Group 2 have studied Spanish formally in school, subjects 2-B and 2-C said that they do not speak it very well or only a little. Except for one mention by 2-B of visiting Mexico, it is not known if others in Group 2 have had any contact with Mexico or the Southwest. None of the members of Group 2 has had migrant or farmworking experience. Cultural concepts are not mentioned much by subjects 2-A and 2-B, though all three persons in Group 2 mentioned the negative attitudes toward the Spanish language or Mexican culture that they, their families, or other Mexican Americans have run across in the Twin Cities. Much more cultural identification is evident in the interview with 2-C, who had contact with recently arrived Mexican Americans.

Findings: Group 3

Proposition 3

Persons who have arrived in the Twin Cities in the last ten years who are bilingual and who generally have had a recent contact with Mexico or the Southwest have strong cultural identification. This can be seen in frequent references to cultural traditions and the Spanish language. These arrivals therefore establish contact between Hispanic and non-Hispanic languages and cultures in the Twin Cities—and by definition, recontact.

Summary of Group. Four of the eight persons in Group 3 arrived in the Twin Cities by way of the migrant stream and the others, through job relocations or previous acquaintances in the area. Most of the persons in Group 3 were in their twenties and thirties and all had some family remaining in the Southwest or Mexico. Half of the group had begun or were continuing to raise their own families in the Twin Cities. Subgroup characteristics, to be discussed separately, were determined on the basis of settlement patterns.

Discussion

Reference to speaking or using Spanish and English is very frequent in the Group 3 interviews, especially with those persons who have had most recent, extended, or continuous contact with the Southwest or Mexico.

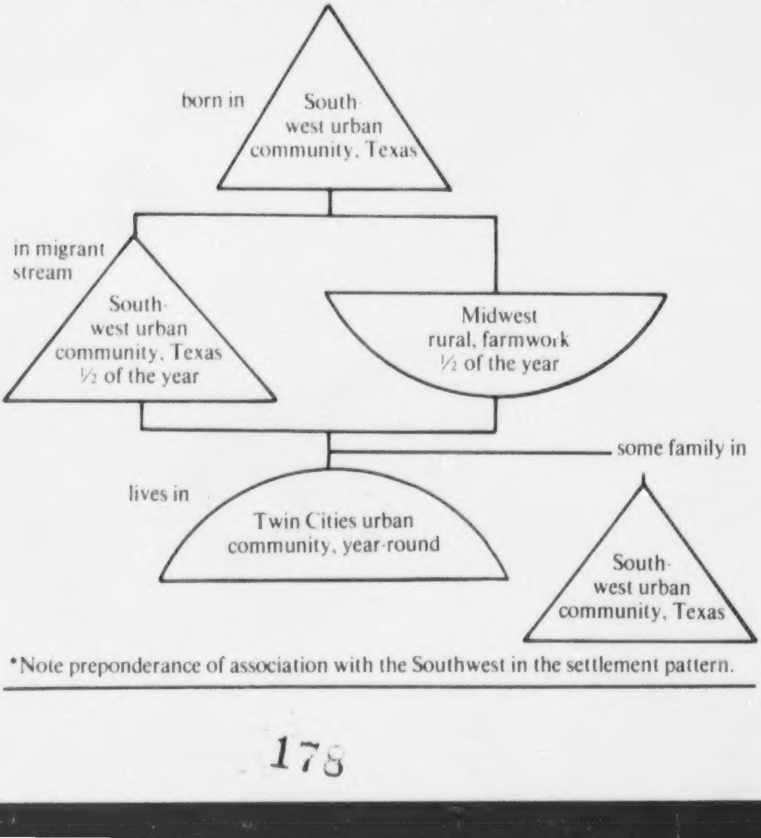
Subjects 3-A and 3-B were both thirty-year-old males (see Figures 3-A and 3-B), born in Texas in urban communities. For most of their lives they worked in the rural Midwest during the warm months and returned to urban Texas communities during the winter. In the early 1970s, both settled in the Twin Cities, though they still have families in Texas. Interviews with both 3-A and 3-B were conducted in Spanish, though no mention was made of the use of language in either interview. Both were working in situations in which they were not only in contact with other

Mexican Americans but also dealt constantly with sociocultural and economic aspects of these persons' lives. They therefore spoke often about improving the conditions in which many migrant Mexicans and Mexican Americans find themselves.

> Claro que socialmente no estoy donde estuviera si no hubiera tenido la educación. Pero al mismo tiempo, como yo trabajo con los trabajadores migrantes, yo me encuentro a amigos míos que fui a la escuela hace años. Que ellos no terminaron, y ellos vienen cada verano a cortar betabel, levantar espárago, a trabajar en las empacadoras. Y los miro a ellos, y para ellos no ha cambiado. Ha seguido lo mismo. Vas a la escuela unos cuantos años, y te salen, y de ahí te vas a la labor, y ahí te quedas hasta que te mueras. . . . Yo miro a mis amigos y yo ando haciendo ese trabajo, pero estoy mirando que ellos porque no tuvieron la educación o oportunidad de educación, siguen una vida, que es cíclica. . . . Estoy tratando de . . . ayudar a los otros de nosotros que no han tenido esas oportunidades. Es obligación . . . tal vez política. [3-B.]

Subject 3-A presented a very explicit expression of cultural identity when he mentioned that his family history goes back to the Alamo in San Antonio, where he still has many relatives today.

Figure 3–A and 3–B
Settlement Pattern of Two 30–Year–Old Males*


born in
South-west urban community, Texas
in migrant stream
South-west urban community, Texas ½ of the year
Midwest rural, farmwork ½ of the year
some family in
lives in
Twin Cities urban community, year-round
South-west urban community, Texas

*Note preponderance of association with the Southwest in the settlement pattern.

Subject 3-C was a twenty-seven-year-old female, subject 3-D a nineteen-year-old male (See Figures 3-C and 3-D). Both grew up in urban Texas communities, working in midwestern rural areas during the summers and residing in Texas during the winters. Subjects 3-C and 3-D differed slightly from 3-A and 3-B in that the families of 3-C and 3-D still work in the Midwest as migrants for a large portion of the year. Subject 3-C arrived in the Twin Cities in the early 1970s but 3-D only settled in the last couple of years, though he had been in Minnesota as a migrant for at least five years before settling. Unlike subjects 3-A, 3-B, and 3-C, 3-D—who is much younger than the others—planned to return to Texas after finishing his undergraduate studies.

References to language use were abundant in the interviews with 3-C and 3-D. Subject 3-C specifically mentioned school problems related to her migrant status and to differences between the Midwest and Texas:

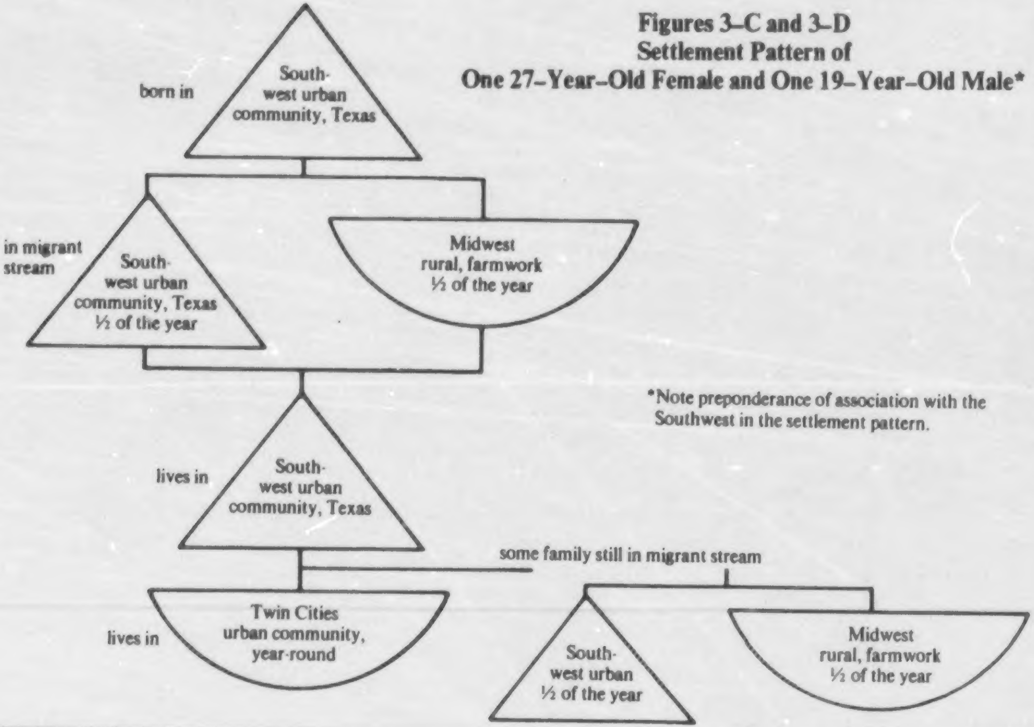
> When we were migrants . . . it was very hard to get uprooted . . . from teachers you could talk Spanish to, and get taken to other schools where it was mandatory that you speak English. It was very frustrating, especially since I didn't learn how to speak English until I was seven. . . . One thing I remember very clearly was that it was very difficult for me to understand what the teacher was saying when I didn't understand English. And I'd try to be understanding what she was saying or try to copy what was on the board and before I'd realize it, she'd say "and now for tomorrow" and so I missed everything. So I grew up with a dictionary, and to this day I don't go anywhere without that dictionary.

This subject did say that she had lessons in Spanish at home from her mother—"reading the comics in Spanish"—and said that she thought the school instructors didn't punish her son for speaking Spanish as much as she herself got punished. She clearly thought that it was the responsibility of parents to "teach us to keep our identity—that and our language." She also stated that many Mexican Americans "have migrated to other states and they just seem to want to forget their language, where they come from. And that won't happen because your skin's not going to change. So they should teach us—history and language."

Subject 3-D's references to language reflected his awareness that Chicanos in Minnesota don't speak Spanish. Yet, he noted, his English wasn't needed when he went back home to Laredo:

> We're totally different. . . . They're too White already [Minnesota Chicanos]. . . . Well, I'm more Mexican than they are. . . . They don't speak Spanish anymore.
>
> I went to this crummy bar [in Laredo] . . . and [said] "Hey, can I get some barbecued potatoes here?" He goes "¿Qué estás diciendo?" 'cause he didn't understand me. I go "What the hell is going on! Dame unas papitas. Just give me. Dame unas papitas madres a la volada." I just went like that. That's fine. It was really freaky, man. You go back home, they don't need your English. Everybody there speaks Spanish.

Figures 3–C and 3–D
Settlement Pattern of
One 27–Year–Old Female and One 19–Year–Old Male*


born in
South-west urban community, Texas
in migrant stream
South-west urban community, Texas ½ of the year
Midwest rural, farmwork ½ of the year
lives in
South-west urban community, Texas
some family still in migrant stream
lives in
Twin Cities urban community, year-round
South-west urban ½ of the year
Midwest rural, farmwork ½ of the year

*Note preponderance of association with the Southwest in the settlement pattern.

He felt strongly about keeping both languages: Spanish, because he wants to return to Texas to be the other Chicano disc jockey in town; English, because he knows he needs to improve it. "That's one thing I wanted to look at . . . improve my English when I came over here [Minnesota]." He vividly expressed his feelings about his communication abilities in general and specifically with people in Minnesota.

> I was taking a communications class last quarter and it was really something. . . . I'm . . . not scared of talking anymore.
>
> Working probably helped me a lot, with all the stupid people [in the Twin Cities]. . . . I didn't let them give me any crap . . . I would tell them in español, so they wouldn't say anything.
>
> But I can tell you one thing I can never understand about *gabachos* or where they're coming from. I don't know if what they're saying is really true. . . . It's not trust . . .'cause when I'm with a Chicano, I know that the hell he feels. But someone like you, if you was male, they tell you something, and they actually mean something else. . . . I haven't had that much experience with White People. . . . you would have the same problem if you would go down to Laredo, Texas.

When asked about schooling, 3-D replied that he had gone to a school in Texas with only two or three Whites: "Some of the Chicanos have White names, but they still don't speak any English."

With respect to cultural identification, both 3-C and 3-D spoke strongly of their identification with the Mexican and Mexican American cultures. Subject 3-C made several references to her historical and cultural heritage:

> My mother's grandfather was a revolutionary . . . and my father's grandfather was also a revolutionary . . . There's all kinds of mixed blood. I can say that I am a descendant of the three greatest civilizations that ever were.
>
> [Father] had one of those grants. Mercedes grants from the Spanish crown, before the U.S. declared war on Mexico. The Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo was not honored, so our property was taken.
>
> The uniqueness of being Chicano goes back to being in two cultures, actually three. The Mexican descent . . . then you have the Chicano, and also the White. You learn from all of it. You try to learn from all of it, and yet never lose your identity.

She also expressed a hope that the Chicano nation would continue to "become aware of what other countries did to us," and that "our land will return to its rightful owners. . . . I mean Aztlán, the bronze nation will." Although "some people think it's a myth, . . . to me, it's important."

For 3-C, the family was very important, too.

> The family is important for me, because you can have a whole bunch of friends, but they'll never understand you like your family. . . . They love you, whatever you do. . . . You try not to bring a bad name to your family.

She also talked about having to fight and put up with unequal treatment and bad feelings from non-Mexican Americans.

> I had a job once . . . and was getting paid ninety cents an hour. I found out that the White girls were getting more wages than I was, so I complained to the Wages Bureau. . . . Of course, I was fired, but he had to raise the pay rate for the rest of the Mexican Chicano persons.
>
> Right after the baby [her son] was born we took him to the church up to the altar, which was something, because my little boy was born in Wisconsin which was something that the congregation must have not been very used to seeing. Like they were really looking at us like we were crazy.
>
> Idaho, Utah. . . . Utah, we weren't wanted. Even now Utah's a Mormon state. They're very prejudiced.

She also mentioned that in both Minnesota and Texas she helped students and migrants by volunteering in student and neighborhood centers. Her helping other students also emphasized her own feelings about the importance of education.

> My mother stressed the fact that education was very important, and I think I can say that to any Chicano, Mexican American, Latino, education is an asset. . . . Before the '60s, there was a lot of people who dropped out of school because of the discrimination. . . . It was with a lot of pride that my father saw my sister graduate and me get my G.E.D.

Finally, 3-C was grateful that she is no longer in the migrant stream.

> Now my goal has changed, from before. . . .When I was thirteen I used to wonder, "Is it always going to be like this?" And thank God, no, it's not. Now I want to be a lawyer and that's what I'm studying, law.

For 3-D, cultural identification was also salient. Several of his references focused on differences between Chicano culture and "White" culture, and on what constitutes being Mexican.

> My grandma's house is across the border. She doesn't put up a Christmas tree. You get too White when you do that.
>
> I live so close to the border. I still keep all my customs.
>
> In my barrio [in Texas] . . . are all Chicanos, Mexican. Once you get to the other school district, it's White. That's where the White, the rich White, live.
>
> When I was in the eighth grade, I spent the whole summer there [interior of Mexico]. And I got so Mexican.
>
> The rest of them [disc jockeys in Laredo] are *gabachos.* Imports from somewhere.
>
> Well, one thing is moving out [non-White traditions]. Not my family. I hate to use the word "White." Well, in our culture, you just don't move out from your house, 'til you get married. . . . Guys and girls don't. But everything's changing. We're trying to be too White.

> . . . When I look back, I've really been going to more things that are Chicano [social functions]. . . . I do go to more Chicano things than White things. I hate using that word.
>
> You can call me Hispanic . . . I am Mexican, but I don't consider myself being. . . . I'm not saying I'm not Mexican; I am Mexican, but . . . some of the values [are] probably lost, but still, I am Mexican. I'm not saying I don't see myself Mexican.
>
> I couldn't say that I was Mexican. That I didn't know if I was Mexican or Chicano. But I know that I'm Mexican. But I'm American. I hate to use these words: I'm just as much American as you are, you know what I mean?

Although 3-D was aware of having a different language and cultural heritage, he was affirming that he had the same rights as any other person living in the United States. He was also aware that there was a lot of change going on, in the direction of becoming more "White." Just as with subject 3-C, 3-D's family was very important: "My family always comes first. No matter what my friends tell me, it's my family." In fact, he mentioned the way Twin Cities Chicanos are different in family relations:

> They lived here; they were born here. People from the West Side. They're different, man. They think they're big, and they don't show as much respect for their parents. That's one thing I did notice.

The respect for parents and family was very important for 3-D, as he often mentioned in the interview.

> Like drinking and smoking, you can't do that . . . 'cause it's respect of my mom and my pa. I just don't do it. . . . I wouldn't want to get home drunk, or stoned or anything like that. He [brother] shaped me. . . . I mean my father wouldn't care, 'cause "my boy's now hombre," but I do it for my mom.
>
> I just told her [sister], "when you come back home, you're going to be just like any other in the family. Just don't think that you're better. . . . 'Cause if you're going to live in this house, you're going to do what my mom says. Or just don't come back."

In fact, 3-D often said that he is "dying to go back to Texas, with my family," and had been doing migrant work not because he wanted to do it but "it's just because it's my family."

Subject 3-E was a forty-two-year-old female, 3-F, a twenty-seven-year-old male (See Figures 3-E and 3-F). Both grew up in the Southwest in rural communities, but did not have much, if any, migrant experience. Both came to the Twin Cities within the last five years for professional reasons—to attend graduate school and to work in social services for Mexican Americans—and both had families continuing to live back in the Southwest. Both also worked with Mexican Americans in their respective occupations, which were expressly centered around improving the conditions of migrants and other Mexican Americans in the Twin Cities area. References to language by 3-E and 3-F were fewer, though both spoke of persons who speak Spanish and English in their families.

> [The children in 3-E's family were raised to be] bilingual, but mostly speaking [unclear]. . . . The younger ones do not speak it well, but the others spoke it, because the community we come from is very [unclear]. . . . They [the children] don't need to speak it, but they do speak Spanish with the younger ones.
>
> Both my [3-F's] mother and my father are completely bilingual, which is to say that they are comfortable in either language. . . . A lot of people, a lot of Chicanos tell me about the times when their hands were slapped, when they spoke Spanish in the school district. Mine wasn't that. We could speak Spanish without fear of getting reprimanded for it.

Growing up in New Mexico, where Spanish is one of the official state languages, 3-F said he had no negative experiences related to speaking Spanish.

With respect to cultural identification, 3-E spoke of having little contact with Chicanos as she was growing up. By contrast, 3-F referred to a lot of contact with other Chicanos.

> I grew up in a rural area, where the only Chicano families that we would see were the cotton harvesters. [3-E]
>
> I would say that we assimilated to the extent that we had to. We dressed like the people in the Española Valley, but I think that we had a very traditional upbringing. . . . Well, we did assimilate culturally, I guess; before I came up to Minnesota I dressed like a cowboy. But that's the way La Raza was dressing down there. [3-F]
>
> The school district where I was from was predominantly Chicano. I had a different experience from a lot of other Chicanos, only because we were in the majority. [3-F]

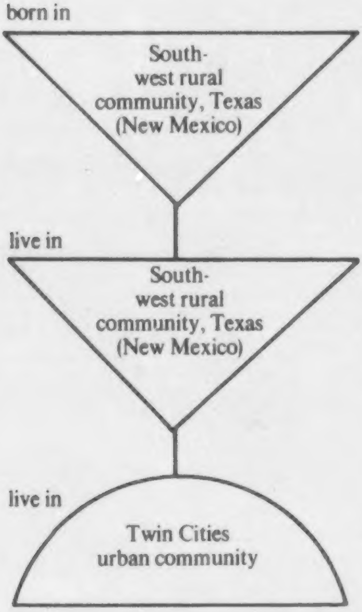
Both 3-E and 3-F, however, did mention negative contacts with non-Mexican Americans.

> You know you read so much about equal rights, and then I would see that we were treated different, and I couldn't understand it. . . . As I started to work, you know we Chicana women have gone through a lot, not only from the community and relatives, but when I go to work. . . . [3-E]
>
> When I came up here, I got quite a cultural shock. . . . I never thought there was Raza here. Very frankly, I never thought that I would see a Chicano again. . . . And I tried hard to relate to those guys, but I could never do it, really. Because I just came, I stayed in the dump. . . . In New Mexico I never had a problem. But I got into these *gabachos* here . . . when I say *gabacho*, is that too racist? . . . I had a real bad experience in terms of my culture. I came up here to Minnesota and I was really scared. I'll tell you . . . I just wanted to find some people like me. [3-F]

Both 3-E and 3-F made reference to Mexican culture and the family.

> We are just a little bit more modern than before. The one thing that we always stress is respect, authority; respect for others, respect for family. [3-E]

Figures 3-E and 3-F
Settlement Pattern of
One 42-Year-Old Female and
One 27-Year-Old Male


born in
South-
west rural
community, Texas
(New Mexico)
live in
South-
west rural
community, Texas
(New Mexico)
live in
Twin Cities
urban community

> It was different than the urban area, because . . . in a rural area, you are more proud to keep your culture, and closeness of the family. [3-E]
>
> It's not like the American way, when you're eighteen you can get a job or go to school. . . . You will always be a daughter or a son. [3-E]
>
> The only reference that we have on my family is, I had a grandmother in 1888 that died . . . who came from Spain. [3-F]
>
> My father physically resembles just your run-of-the-mill Mexican. He was very dark, he had a lot of Indian features, but as far as I can make out my family is originally from New Mexico, and we're very tied to the New Mexican culture. [3-F]

Both 3-E and 3-F, from the above evidence, seemed to indicate that they are living in both cultures. However, in concluding his interview, 3-F said that he definitely decided to return to New Mexico, because "I couldn't see any working without my people," and "there's more Chicanos in New Mexico. . . . I think my energies are better spent there."

The last two persons in Group 3 were 3-G, a thirty-four-year-old male, and 3-H, a thirty-six-year-old male. These subjects differed from others in the group in terms of settlement patterns, as illustrated in Figures 3-G and 3-H. Subject 3-G spent his first nineteen years in northern Mexico, then moved to an urban Midwest community before moving to the Twin Cities. He did not have migrant experience. Subject 3-H spent his first five years in rural Texas, migrating in those early years. He then lived on a farm year-round in the Midwest until moving to an urban Midwest community, and finally to the Twin Cities.

Statements about language use differed: 3-G grew up speaking Spanish, while 3-H grew up speaking both Spanish and English.

> I had just finished high school in my country [Mexico], and I had taken some courses in English. But I did not have the ability to conversate. I mainly knew how to write and read. [3-G]

> I grew up learning both. Going to school, English; and living around the house, Spanish. I have grown up to be bilingual. [3-H]

Figure 3-G
Settlement Pattern of
34-Year-Old Male

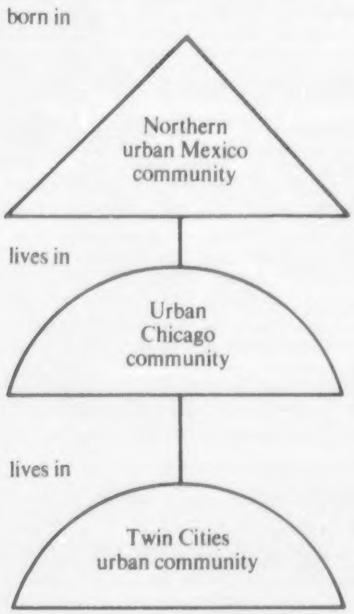
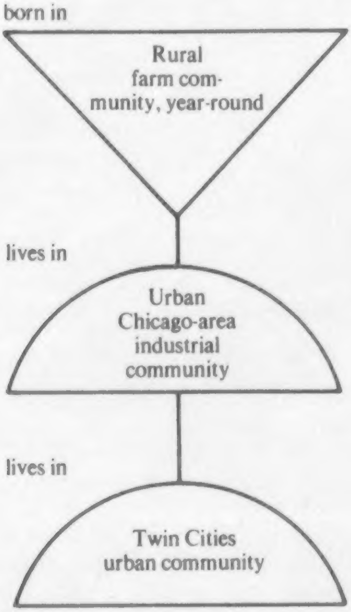


Figure 3-H
Settlement Pattern of
36-Year-Old Male


born in
Rural farm community, year-round
lives in
Urban Chicago-area industrial community
lives in
Twin Cities urban community

Subject 3-H also added that when he visits his parents he speaks Spanish, but "we mix it. At least I do, because I don't remember all the Spanish words." However, 3-G focused a large number of his comments about language use on the problems that occurred in the Army as a result of his speaking Spanish.

> For example, if the ranking officer was Mexican, Puerto Rican, or Spanish, we could talk freely. But if the person in charge was not a Latin person, we would get punished. It was not written, so we rolled with the punches. . . . It's of benefit for anyone as such in the Army to allow Spanish-speaking people to speak Spanish.

Since he had children, 3-G had also thought about the language that he wanted his children to speak.

> Mis hijos están aprendiendo español através de la escuela. No es necesariamente el poder hablar o el poder entender, pero el tener cierto respeto. Porque cuando antes la gente no hablaba español o no consideraba el español algo bueno, entonces sí, había castigos para los que hablaban español.

He continued to say that when his son was very small he only spoke Spanish, but then had trouble with his little friends, and needed to learn English. Now the family speaks Spanish at home, but

> Hoy en día él entiende español, pero no lo habla. Nosotros esperamos que en su misma manera de pensar . . . él empieza a tomar cierto orgullo en lo que es la cultura, entonces él quiere aprender español. Yo no lo tengo que forzar. El empieza ya. Y su escuela tiene programa bilingüe. Allí les enseñan a escribir, y cantar y en mi casa él aprende a hablar.

With respect to cultural traditions, 3-G and 3-H differed sharply, though both clearly expressed their positions. Subject 3-H felt that he was more Anglo than Mexican, and 3-G recounted circumstance after circumstance illustrating his growing awareness of what it means to be Mexican in the United States.

> I for myself am not that close to my relatives. I don't like visiting that well . . . 'cause my dad, I think he had a pride within himself that he wanted to strive and do better without the assistance of others if he possibly could do it. . . . I think for the most part our family fit in more with the Anglo than Mexican community. . . . I think a lot of them [Chicanos] could have bettered themselves if they would have tried hard enough. . . . If you stick with one social group, you're going to be stuck in the ways of that social group, and I think that's hurt a lot of minorities. [3-H]

> So I was visiting and the Border Patrol gave me a lot of trouble. [3-G]

> If Mexicans don't have it, and they want it, they have to fight for it. So that was my becoming aware . . . after a couple years there of junior college. [3-G]

> There were many migrant families which laid their lives down, working in the fields. This is the kind of work no one else wants to do. . . . We knew that the state [Minnesota] benefitted a lot from having Mexicans around. [3-G]

> All we had to do was bring them to that point where they would understand there was certain responsibility from an institution . . . to get a better understanding of who Mexicans were, and so the body of regents . . . most happened to be farmers; they knew what we were talking about. [3–G]

> When I first came, I joined the U.S. Army. I knew very little of discrimination, during my first eighteen years in Mexico. [3-G]

> Han cambiado las cosas, que más gente sabe que hay Mexicanos, que debemos de tener parte, que como vivimos, trabajamos, y somos mucha parte de este país. . . . Ellos van a tener que pensar un poco mejor de otras culturas para poder sobrevivir un poco más. [3-G]

> El motivo principal [to move to St. Paul from Minneapolis] . . . entre unos y otros nos sentimos más . . . teniendo más gente de nuestro color, y de nuestra cultura, se siente uno más confiado. [3-G]

Generally, 3-G identified very much with the Mexican/Mexican American culture, whereas 3-H did not.

Summary

Persons in Group 3 were very diverse, though all had bilingualism in common, and all but one had a strong cultural/ethnic identification.

Subjects 3-A, 3-B, 3-C, and 3-D had extensive migrant backgrounds; had a strong identification with the Mexican and Chicano cultures; and lived in close contact with other Chicanos on a daily basis through work and social functions. All continued to maintain contact with their families in Texas, and all felt a strong commitment to working with Chicanos or already were working with them. All persons in this subgroup noted many negative experiences relating to contact with non-Mexican Americans—either as children in school, through work, or through other experiences in daily living.

Subjects 3-E and 3-F both came to the Twin Cities with no migrant background. Both were bilingual and had some negative feelings about contact with non-Mexicans: 3-F even intended to leave the Twin Cities to return to the Southwest. However, since both worked daily with Chicanos, both felt a strong identification with and commitment to Chicanos, as did subjects 3-A, 3-B, 3-C, and 3-D.

Subject 3-G had no migrant background, though he grew up in Mexico. He was bilingual and felt a strong identification with and commitment to the Chicano culture. His interview included narratives of many negative contact experiences.

Subject 3-H had a very short migrant experience and had spent the least amount of time of any of the interviewees in the southwestern United States or Mexico. In fact, since 3-H grew up almost entirely in a midwestern urban community, away from other Mexican families, it might be suggested that he had more in common with persons in Group 2.

Conclusion

The three propositions set forth by the investigators regarding the language experiences of members of the Twin Cities Mexican American community (in contact and recontact situations) were supported by the analysis. The cultural identification described by the subjects reveals that there were *contact* phenomena in the early settlers' lives that closely resemble *recontact* experiences; these experiences were variously perceived as the former or the latter. Both early and recent settlers stressed the importance of education as a means for escaping the migrant way of life, and both early and recent settlers stressed the differences between Mexican American community ways and values and those of non-Mexicans, including difficulties because of language. Recent settlers especially emphasized a certain hope that the current situation could be changed. The situation was seen as one putting Mexican Americans at an unfair disadvantage in the schools and other institutions because of skin color, historical injustices, and the economic system.

This study, which attempted to determine the nature of language contact in the Twin Cities and especially the recontact taking place with new settlers, primarily found that a recontact situation has developed, and revitalization of the Spanish language and the Mexican culture is indeed taking place. Contact with newly arrived persons from the southwestern United States or from the bilingual migrant communities in the Midwest/Southwest settlement patterns has had an influence on the use of language and the cultural identification by persons who settled in the Twin Cities in the early part of the century and by descendants of these pioneers.

Major implications of the study concern the potential growth of the Spanish language and revitalization of Mexican and Mexican American cultures in other midwestern and non-southwestern urban communities throughout the country. However, future research is needed to test the hypotheses generated here so that the concepts and categories suggested in this study may be compared to those found in other studies using a similar ethnographic and cognitive anthropology approach. Statistics from the U.S. Bureau of the Census (InterAmerica Research Associates, 1981) have projected an increase in the number of persons of Latin descent and of Spanish-speaking heritage, but these projections most probably do not adequately describe the nature of the contact situations that are and will be developing and any recontact that may take place. Certainly, if the Spanish language and the Mexican/Mexican American culture are being revitalized in the United States at the present time, then major educational, social, economic, and cultural implications undoubtedly will result.

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The Role of Language as a Cohesive Force in the Hispanic Speech Community of Washington, D.C.

Georganne Weller

About the Author

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Abstract

In recent years, as a result of political and living conditions in their respective countries, many native Spanish speakers have come to the Washington, D.C. area. Their presence has greatly strengthened and diversified the already existing Hispanic community, even though most must remain underground for legal reasons.

This paper examines the existing and potential socioeconomic and political power of what the author claims is an even larger speech community. The concepts of speech community as dealt with by Fishman, Gumperz, Hymes, and Ervin-Tripp are reviewed and a new definition is offered. Support for this definition and the supreme role of language as a cohesive force is substantiated by field work carried out in the spring of 1978. Sociolinguistic and ethnographic methodologies were employed and included fifty personal interviews in Spanish with community members and leaders, using a structured but open questionnaire that covered basic sociolinguistic variables and aspects of the role of language, language maintenance, and attitudes. This questionnaire was complemented by a Q-sort that asked the subject to rank the agencies or institutions and the leaders who had contributed the most to the community. It was possible to validate much of the reported information by participant observation, i.e., by attending community events and meetings, and by performing volunteer work in the social service agencies.

This study found that, for this area, the use of a common language supersedes social class and nationality, positive attitudes toward Spanish, and interest in the local Spanish radio station as the most important contributor to cohesion in the community.

Introduction

Relatively little research has been done on the Hispanic community of the metropolitan Washington, D.C. area even though persons of Hispanic origin form the largest non-English-speaking ethnic group in the area (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1973). Hispanics provide many services vital to the capital's functioning and enable it to maintain its international flavor.

At the beginning of this project, U.S. government agencies were able to provide only very limited hard-core statistics, which were not of much value for a qualitative study of this nature. International organizations, including regionally oriented groups such as the Organization of American States (OAS), Inter-American Development Bank (IDB), and the Inter-American Foundation, were not able to provide original material on local Hispanic community problems and purported that their sphere of competence only concerned Latin Americans in Latin America. Even embassies were at a loss to provide any follow-up information on their citizens, claiming that their responsibility was limited to administrative procedures and diplomatic relations with the United States and that they could not be expected to be concerned with the well-being and personal adaptation of individual citizens after their arrival in the United States.

The academic community of Washington has largely ignored the subject of problems faced by Hispanics in the area, although hundreds of Latin Americans come yearly to the Washington area to study. With the exception of the Institute for Latin American Studies at The American University, a visit to local universities revealed that published papers, theses, and dissertations tend to focus on the international aspects of various disciplines. Notable exceptions are Neira's master's thesis on "Help-seeking Patterns among Spanish-Speaking Youth in Metropolitan D.C." (1976) and Salazar's M.A. thesis on "Culture Shock among South Americans in Washington, D.C." (1977). Both documents have provided insight into the feelings and needs of the local Hispanic community as expressed by community members themselves.

The purpose of this study is not to offer a solution to any of the many problems facing the Hispanic community at present. It is simply an attempt to document how language and culture are agglutinating forces in the community. To help remedy the existing information gap, this study:

- Suggests and substantiates through ethnographic and sociolinguistic methodology that a "Hispanic speech community"—which is more encompassing than the original sociological concept of a "Hispanic community"—exists in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area

- Provides insight into the many different roles that language, as a part of culture, plays within this speech community

- Offers predictions concerning language maintenance as part of ethnic identity in the speech community

- Proposes that leaders in the Hispanic community make better use of the strong ethnic cohesion this group presents as a means of achieving greater socioeconomic and political advancement for the community in metropolitan Washington, D.C.

Theoretical Framework

Notion of a Speech Community

As previously mentioned, this paper uses a sociolinguistic and ethnographic approach, and one of its major premises is the inseparability of language and culture. Also central to this paper is the notion of a speech community.

Many similarities and disparities will emerge from an examination of the writings of several leading theoreticians on this topic. For Fishman, "A speech community is one all of whose members share at least a single speech variety and the norms for its appropriate use. It is not just speaking the same language, but is set off by density of communication and symbolic integration with respect to communicative competence" (Fishman, 1970, p. 28). Gumperz claims, "A speech community must have at least one language in common and the rules that govern basic common strategies must be shared so that speakers can decode the social meanings of speech" (1962, p. 32). Hymes says, "A speech community is a community sharing the rules for the interpretation of at least one linguistic variety. Both conditions are necessary" (1972, p. 16). Ervin-Tripp states, "Members of the same speech community need not all speak the same language nor use the same linguistic form on similar occasions. All that is required is that there be at least one language in common and that rules governing basic communicative strategies be shared so that speakers can decode the social meanings carried by alternative codes of communication" (Ervin-Tripp, 1972, p. 16).

After digesting these readings and speaking with other colleagues on the subject, the author has arrived at the following working definition of a speech community for the purpose of this study:

- There must be a mutually intelligible linguistic code (receptive competence), but active use of the code (performance in the Chomskyan sense) is not a prerequisite.

- The term does not necessarily coincide with the sociological idea of a close-knit, social-geographical community in the traditional sense but the members should be within a radius that will allow some degree of social interaction.

- Members of the speech community should be in command of the same rules of usage in their interactions or exchanges with others.

- Similar attitudes and values should be attached to language features.

- A common ancestry will provide intangible identification features shared by the members. However, this is not mandatory for membership in the speech community.

To further clarify these five components and to relate them to sociolinguistics and ethnography of communication theory, a few comments should be added here. First, mutual intelligibility of a language is preferred to active use of a given code, because it is sufficient to allow for communication to take place.

In terms of the second point, metropolitan Washington, D.C. is the only geographical area referred to in the paper since data have been collected exclusively there. Rather than putting a stricter limit on the outer boundary of this speech community, any person who fits the description given above is considered to be a potential member of this particular speech community. Obviously, living in the Latin district is not a prerequisite.

The third point—command of the same rules of usage—is vital for membership in the speech community. This includes selecting the proper choice from concurrent varieties. That is, knowing what to say, how, to whom, and under what circumstances is part of the rich sociolinguistic resources a native speaker draws upon for immediate use when needed. Nonnatives can acquire this competence only after long exposure and participation in the culture of a given society. It is when nonnatives do not observe these rules properly that they are most likely to say the wrong thing, even when their handling of the linguistic code per se is perfect. "Appropriateness of use" is the key expression.

The fourth point is closely related to the third, but involves such items as attitudes toward the place of language in society, how prestigious it is to speak one's own language, how much value is placed on speaking ability in a society, whether the language serves for educational purposes or not, how tolerant a community is of varieties within language, and related issues.

The fifth point, that of common ancestry, may appear to be abstract. However, it can be a most overpowering force and is based on the principle of self-ascription or ascription by others. Sometimes its roots lie in physical attributes; more often it is in a common heritage. An oft-quoted example is the Anglo who has mastered Black vernacular and is strongly identified with a Black vernacular speech community: can he or she ever really become a full-fledged member of this group, or does his or her different ancestry negate this possibility?

Taking these five characteristics into account, this study will present the Spanish speech community as a unique entity, clearly distinguishable from the Washington Black speech community dominant in the area, the smaller but more prestigious Anglo speech community, and other ethnic groups coresident with them in the Washington area.

The Role of Language in a Speech Community

Sherzer and Darnell (1972) provide a rather exhaustive scheme for documenting the role of language in different societies, with the very special advantage that it can be applied to examine cross-cultural variability. The brevity of this paper allows reference to only a few points of their outline—those that are good indicators of the role of language in a speech community—to be examined here.

Methodology

After a review of the literature and personal discussions with other professionals, a questionnaire (see Appendix A) was drawn up. The methodological emphasis was more ethnographic than sociolinguistic in nature and therefore relies more heavily on qualitative versus quantitative data. Statistical tests will not be applied in the data analysis.

Data gathering was accomplished through observation, participation in social and professional encounters in the field, and through a series of forty-six interviews with members of the Hispanic speech community; the interviews employed the questionnaire, elicitation techniques, and a Q-sort. Of the persons interviewed, about half were community leaders. One-fourth represented the working classes, lived in the traditional Latin district, and were generally considered to be "the community." The other one-fourth were Latin American students at universities, language specialists, or employees of international organizations who are often not considered to belong to "the community" because of their higher living standards and low level of interaction with other Hispanics. For the purposes of this study all will be considered to form part of the Hispanic speech community.

The formal interviews, which took place from March through May 1978, were carried out in diverse settings (which ranged from offices to restaurants to social and cultural events such as weddings, funerals, meetings, and dances) in the Latin district and outlying areas.

Because of the very tenuous situation some of the Hispanics find themselves in at present, outsiders requesting information are often viewed with reservation bordering on suspicion. Interviews with this examiner were therefore arranged through mutual friends who were trusted members of the community.

The interview (with the exception of native English speakers) was always conducted in Spanish and consisted of

- A structured but open-ended questionnaire

- A Q-sort, which required the subjects to choose and rank the five people and the five institutions they believed contributed the most to the community

- A free exchange on community problems and language's role. The scope and depth of this aspect depended on the interest shown by the subjects.

Findings on the use of sociolinguistic rules of interaction were derived mainly from observation and participant observation. Although all interviewees were informed of the academic nature of the study, they were not aware that additional ethnographic and sociolinguistic data were being compiled.

Findings and Observations

Demographic Considerations of the Speech Community

The 1970 Census reports 70,904 Spanish-speaking individuals in the entire metropolitan Washington, D.C. area—15,671 in the District proper (U.S. Department of Commerce, 1973). It has been estimated by leaders in the Hispanic community, however, that there are actually some 100,000 to 150,000 additional Spanish speakers who are unaccounted for in the Census figures. The discrepancies in these figures are due to several factors: the format of the ethnicity questions, the lack of bilingual census takers, and the high number of undocumented workers present but not included for obvious reasons.

Several of the community leaders interviewed had done their own statistical surveys or had access to population data and estimated a population of at least 50,000 Spanish-speaking persons for the District of Columbia and from 150,000 to 300,000 for the greater metropolitan area. The second figure fits this report's definition of the Hispanic speech community, which includes others who are not necessarily native Spanish speakers. This number may seem somewhat high, but it covers the estimated 40-60 percent of undocumented workers in the area attested to by most of the informants.

One of the most outstanding features of the speech community is its heterogeneity. Twenty Latin American countries are represented in the sample, in addition to Spaniards, Portuguese, Chicanos, Puerto Ricans, and a few Anglos (see Figures 1 through 4). The data are straightforward and require no further explanation at this stage.

Application of the Five Characteristics of a Speech Community to the Hispanic Speech Community of the Greater Metropolitan D.C. area

1. Mutual intelligibility. When interviewees were asked about the degree of mutual intelligibility among the different varieties of Spanish, with one sole exception the answer in essence was, "There are no comprehension problems. We all understand each other perfectly." Further probing, however, confirmed that this was the case in formal situations and

Figure 1

Demographic Characteristics of Subjects Interviewed[1]

Country	Sex		Age			Membership		
	M	F	20-35	36-50	50 +	Leaders	Working Class	Marginal Members
Anglo (U.S.)	1	3	3	-	1	4	-	-
Argentina	1	1	1	1	-	-	1	1
Bolivia	1	1	2	-	-	-	1	1
Brazil	1	1	1	-	1	-	1	1
Chicano (U.S.)	2	1	3	-	-	3	-	-
Chile	-	1	-	-	1	-	1	-
Colombia	3	1	4	-	-	2	1	1
Costa Rica	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
Cuba	1	1	1	-	1	2	-	-
Dominican Republic	3	1	2	2	-	2	1	1
Ecuador	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-
El Salvador	1	1	1	1	-	-	2	-
Guatemala	2	-	1	1	-	1	1	-
Honduras	-	1	1	-	-	-	1	-
Mexico	1	1	1	1	-	1	1	-
Nicaragua	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-
Panama	1	-	1	-	-	1	-	-
Paraguay	1	1	1	-	1	1	1	-
Peru	1	1	1	-	1	-	2	-
Puerto Rico	2	1	3	-	-	3	-	-
Spain	2	-	1	1	-	2	-	-
Uruguay	-	1	1	-	-	-	-	1
Venezuela	1	-	-	1	-	-	1	-

[1] Figures represent number of respondents.

exchange of social amenities, but that problems did often crop up at a colloquial level.

There were two important aspects frequently mentioned by the interviewees that impinged on intelligibility: educational level, which seems to transgress geographical boundaries, and attempts to adjust and neutralize choice of lexicon to override the problem of regionalisms and other variants by reverting to a more standard version of the Spanish language.

Figure 2

Length of Residence[1]

	less than 1 year	1–2 years	3–5 years	5–10 years	more than 10 years
Leaders	1	4	4	7	7
Working class	2	5	5	5	-
Marginal members	-	1	1	2	2

[1]Figures represent number of respondents.

Figure 3

Place of Residence[1]

	D.C./Latin District		Maryland	Virginia
Leaders	4	9	8	2
Working class	2	10	5	-
Marginal members	3	-	2	-

[1]Figures represent number of respondents.

With respect to mutual intelligibility between Spanish and Portuguese, subjects said that any communication usually involved these two languages, without having to resort to English as a bridge. In spite of many other features in common, English, French, and Dutch language groups have been excluded from this speech community on the basis of the lack of a common linguistic code.

2. Geographical considerations. While most of the community-related events and agencies are found in the Latin district, which is centered around 18th Street and Columbia Road, N.W., there is a considerable degree of interaction with residents of Virginia and Maryland in spite of access to local *comités hispanos*, grocery stores, and restaurants. This has been verified by community agencies, which keep records of those who use their services. Those who live in the suburbs generally spend most of their free time, especially on weekends, at church services, eating establishments, or listening to music and strolling through the Latin district.

This section would not be complete without underlining the geographically and culturally agglutinating role of the three institutions most frequently mentioned by leaders, the working classes, and marginal members of the community as those which best serve and integrate the interests of the community as a whole. These forces are WFAN (1340 AM), the Latin radio station (which has since gone off the air and has been replaced by several part-time programs); the Centro Católico Hispánico (mentioned as the second most important cohesive force as a result of its efforts to provide extensive church services and counseling in Spanish and Portuguese as well as English classes, preparation in Spanish for the high school equivalency test, relief housing quarters, and other social aid programs to the needy); and the Wilson International Center. The Wilson Center also received high marks for its counseling and casework programs; for housing Programa en Inglés para Latinos Adultos (PEILA), an independent program; the art center; and especially for serving as a gathering place for various community action groups and large social events. While many other agencies were highly praised for their work, the consensus was that these three provided the greatest benefit and impact on the community as a whole.

3. Rules of usage and social interaction. One of the main cornerstones of the claim that all native or near-native Spanish and Portuguese speakers form part of one speech community is built around the concept of sharing common rules of usage and social interaction. Sociolinguistic features are in fact just as vital a part of communication as the code itself, and one must perform these "fluently" (naturally) to be considered a member of the speech community.

The three months of interviews and observations used for this study convinced this observer that usage and social interaction patterns based on a shared language and culture are evident—and are factors in determining how readily outsiders, through their language use and communicative behavior, can gain acceptance in this speech community.

One object of the study was to discover communicative behavior that deviated from what seemed to be the norm—that is, something that would strike this observer (or native speakers) as an unusual thing to do or say. Examples of deviant sociolinguistic behavior in this Hispanic speech community would be to address a priest by *tú* at first acquaintance, to ignore a direct question that required an answer, and not to inquire about a person's well-being before proceeding to discuss business.

The scope of this paper does not allow all the sociolinguistic features of this particular speech community to be characterized. Therefore, it concentrates on the topic of "social distance" in several of its manifestations to illustrate that many of the rules in force operate differently from those of other speech communities in the area and that social distance patterning complements speech and forms part of communicative behavior.

During the structured interview, which varied greatly from formal to informal according to the participants and setting, there was never more than a yard's distance between interviewer and interviewee. Most interviews were conducted much closer—side by side, on a stairstep, or on a sofa. As interviewer, the researcher always tried to take a seat first to allow the other participant to choose a comfortable distance. Normally it was only from one to one and one-half feet, and exceeded this distance only when a table or desk intervened. Normally during the course of the interview the other person moved closer, which the researcher interpreted as a growing ease or intimacy. In office situations some gesture was made to close the social distance, such as removal of papers, drawing up a chair, ordering coffee, or sharing printed material. These meaningful body movements, accompanied by a switch to more colloquial Spanish, were important indicators that natural, open communication was taking place and also set the tone for the questioning.

4. Attitudes and values attached to language. This section takes into account information on two aspects of attitudes toward varieties of language in use in this speech community, and shows how they are cohesive factors in the community.

Prestige variety. A definite preference was shown for Colombian Spanish, particularly that from the Bogota highland area, with Castilian Spanish mentioned next in frequency. These choices were given not only by people from these specific areas, but also tended to cut across geographical boundaries and educational levels as well.

There may be a discrepancy between "prestige" and "preferred." Castilian Spanish seems to be the prestige variety. Many claimed that it was "true Spanish," "original Spanish," and "what should be imitated in Latin America," yet at the same time they referred to it as "haughty." Most identified more with Colombian Spanish.

The least prestigious varieties seem to be those of the Caribbean area—Cuba, Puerto Rico, and the Dominican Republic, together with Chicano and Paraguayan Spanish. These observations reflect a rather purist view regarding language. Although there is a widespread tolerance of the different varieties of Spanish in use in the community, language mixing (including borrowing of foreign words and code-switching at different levels,) is not highly valued in this speech community. Cubans were accused of heavy African borrowing, Dominicans of French Creole influence, and Puerto Ricans of heavy penetration of Anglo terms and constructions, as well as switching *l* and *r*. All three speech groups were criticized frequently for inverting subject-verb order in questions, i.e., *Dime cómo tú te llamas* versus the standard *Dime cómo te llamas tú*. Often paralinguistic features such as prosody and intonation patterns, the omission of plural endings (e.g., *los muchacho*) and the speed of delivery drew negative comments. Criticism of the Chicano speakers focused on the heavy influence of English on their Spanish. Many referred to it as a separate dialect, like Catalonian. Criticism of Paraguayan Spanish was not as strong, but when mentioned, it was criticized for the influence of Guaraní on the language. In general it was felt that Brazilians did not speak good Spanish, but that their actual speaking ability was secondary to other considerations. Anglo Americans were considered to speak good Spanish if they had lived in a Spanish-speaking country as opposed to learning their Spanish in formal schooling. Pronunciation and accent seemed to be major factors.

Standard variety. As mentioned before, the Hispanic speech community is very heterogeneous and linguistically tolerant. Standard Spanish is not that of one particular country, but rather a variety spoken by a well-educated native of any Spanish-speaking country, and which is fairly neutral and not stocked with regionalisms or plagued by foreign language interference. When examples of a good speaker in the community were requested, models given were community leaders (all well educated), especially those who had appeared on television programs, and radio announcers from WFAN. Marginal members of the community most frequently mentioned diplomats as the prestige model.

With regard to Spanish as a standard language, those interviewed did not show any feeling of inferiority with reference to English. Many were concerned with learning English to cover their basic needs and as a prerequisite for economic advancement, but all seemed to feel that Spanish was a perfectly acceptable language. As one community member put it, "Spanish is a good language. Anything you want to express can be said in it; there is no need to use words from other languages."

5. Common ancestry. The role of common ancestry is difficult to describe because it is so intangible. When asked to identify characteristics of someone who could belong to their community and be considered an insider, nearly all informants stated that speaking Spanish was very important, or even an absolute necessity. Most (especially the leaders) felt that any outsider could belong to the community through mastery of the language and demonstration of good will and a desire to work for the community. They suggested that a year of voluntary service together with living in the district, participating in Hispanic events, and showing a real empathy for the people would gain the trust of the community. Thus, while language is the single most important factor in community cohesiveness and a prerequisite for membership, outsiders must make a special effort to compensate for an inherent lack of cultural identity and common ancestry.

Functions of Language in the Hispanic Speech Community

As Fishman states, "A speech community maintains its sociolinguistic pattern as long as the functional differentiation of the varieties in its linguistic repertoire is systematically and widely maintained" (Fishman, 1964, p. 37). As illustrated in Figure 4, Spanish is strong in several key

Figure 4[1]

	Spanish			Both			English		
Domains	Leaders	Working Class	Marginal Members	Leaders	Working Class	Marginal Members	Leaders	Working Class	Marginal Members
Home	12	14	3	8	1	-	3	2	3
Friends	5	12	2	5			13	5	4
Church[2]	4	9	1	7		2	2	4	2
Work	11	8	1	1	7	-	11	2	5
Neighbors	2	6		14	11	3	7	-	3
Shopping	-	3		12	8	6	7	6	1

[1] Figures represent number of respondents.
[2] not all attend

domains, particularly in that of the home. Among community members Spanish is also used with close friends. This is not necessarily the case for the better educated who have access to majority culture friends through work, social events, and school, since they are fluent in English. In the domain of religion, many leaders do not regularly attend church services, but those who do mostly attend Mass in English, possibly because they are more prone to live in the suburbs. The working classes show a strong preference for Mass in Spanish and Portuguese. A very interesting phenomenon occurs in the occupational domain. The leaders were divided equally on exclusive use of Spanish and equal use of English at work. This distribution involves the fact that face-to-face work in the community (such as casework) is usually carried out in Spanish, but much of the leaders' time is spent preparing grant and funding proposals and dealing with the city and federal governments in English. A similar phenomenon occurs with the workers themselves, who on the domain chart appear to use English just as frequently as Spanish, with practically no mixture. This can be attributed to the fact that most of those who use Spanish at work are involved in the food service industry; Spanish is used as the language of communication with fellow workers, but there are exchanges with their superiors or order-taking from customers in English. Those who use English exclusively are basically domestics, baby-sitters, or cashiers who use a very restricted code in English for communication.

There was a clear-cut difference regarding neighbors. With the exception of those who live in apartment houses in the Latin district, where most neighbors are Spanish-speaking, communication with neighbors is in English.

Language Maintenance

Several important considerations that emerged during the course of the investigation indicate that the prospects for language maintenance in the

Hispanic speech community of metropolitan Washington, D.C. are excellent. First, previous studies have suggested that in contrast to most immigrant languages in the United States, Spanish in certain communities is being maintained in a fairly stable manner. However, with the exception of the Puerto Rican community of New York City and the Chicano communities of the Southwest, language use in other Hispanic communities in the United States remains relatively unstudied (Laosa, 1975).

As this study shows, the Hispanic population of the Washington, D.C. area is growing rapidly. Official records show a several-hundred-fold increase over the past few years (U.S. Census, 1970). Moreover, these records are only the tip of the iceberg, considering that the majority may be unaccounted for in official censuses.

Most of the immigrants or transients are young adults whose linguistic habits are well formed as native Spanish speakers and whose culture is deeply ingrained. They are not second generation. In spite of the many attractions that U.S. culture offers, no one spoke of a desire to assimilate completely. Instead, they preferred to become bilingual and bicultural to varying degrees. A stable bilingual bicultural situation with well-defined domains would predict language maintenance and stability.

A great part of this population is transient. These people have come to the United States seeking economic opportunities but plan to return to their native countries in a few years. This transience leads to a steady influx of new people who are constantly updating the language and keeping it alive. The leaders, who have a higher educational level and are the most prone to use English, still have an excellent command of Spanish and use it for community projects.

There have been many attempts by leaders over the past few years to stimulate "latinidad" through social and cultural events, and to encourage the language through theater, music, and mass media such as radio and television. A growing political awareness is noticeable in the community. This has resulted in more funds for programs and more bilingual education, which helps slow down language loss with the second generation.

The rather purist view of language mentioned previously is widely held by the Hispanic community. This positive attitude is extremely important for the prestige and stability of Spanish in a society where it is a minority language.

There are other miscellaneous factors in language maintenance such as a high birth rate among the Spanish-speaking population and the fact that Spanish is presently the first choice of U.S. students who study languages other than English.

Conclusions and Recommendations

In concluding, the author will return to her initial ideas concerning language and culture as cohesive forces in the speech community.

The evidence provided testifies to the presence of a Hispanic speech community in the greater Washington area. The notion of a speech community as opposed to a community per se is an important distinction because it connotes a larger constituency from which to draw support and for implementation of community action programs.

In her study, Salazar (1977) pinpointed the English language barrier as the most difficult obstacle to overcome in the acculturation process. While this author certainly would not like to de-emphasize the importance of learning English for socioeconomic and political mobility, the Spanish language until now has not been fully exploited as the most cohesive force in the community. It is to be hoped that it will be more skillfully employed as a rallying point in the future.

Language will remain a stable force in the speech community as long as the minority language community continues to be a distinguishable social group and reserves special functions for its language.

The Q-sort exercise, in which interviewees were asked to arrange a set of names of leaders and community agencies in the order of their impact on the community, revealed important information regarding language use. While only four people were not familiar with the contributions of at least five institutions, twenty-six of the forty-six interviewed were unable to recognize the names of five leaders. The interviewees indicated that leaders are not well known and that there is little information available about exactly how they are working for the community (this was also the case in 1976; see Sánchez, 1976). Better communication between leaders and members of the community at large is vital.

The Spanish language, as attested to by those interviewed, enjoys great prestige in the community. The leaders are esteemed for their educational level and speaking ability—perhaps better use can be made of their talents to make the average community member more aware of the many excellent programs available.

In conclusion, language and culture are vital elements in the everyday lives of the Spanish-speaking population of the Washington, D.C. area. The main recommendation of this study is to suggest that better use be made of the role of language in the social, political, and economic development of the Hispanic speech community.

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Appendix A

Cuestionario sobre la Situación Lingüística y la Cohesión Etnica en el Barrio Latino de Washington, D.C.

Antecedentes

1. Nacionalidad: ____________________
2. Edad: ____________________
3. Tiempo de residencia en Washington: ____________________
4. Donde vive: ____________________
5. Condición socio-económica: ____________________
6. Sexo: ____________________
7. Educación: ____________________
8. Si viene con la familia: ____________________
9. Observaciones: ____________________

Uso del idioma en el barrio

1. ¿Puede entender y darse a entender con toda la gente de habla española en Washington? ____________________

   ____

2. Los de habla portuguesa, como los brasileños ¿usan español, portugués o inglés para darse a entender? ____________________

   ____

3. Coloque en orden de comprensión:
   a. alguien de su región: __________
   b. un americano hablando español: __________

c. un brasileño: ____________

d. alguien de su país: ____________

e. un español: ____________

4. ¿Puede formar parte de este barrio cualquier persona que hable bien el español? ____

____

5. ¿En qué país se habla el mejor español? ¿Varía mucho? ____________

____

6. ¿Quiénes hablan el mejor español aquí en el barrio? ____________

____

7. ¿Cómo hablan, por qué suena bien? ____________________________

____

8. ¿Qué idioma usa? en casa: ______ con amigos: ______ iglesia: ______ en el trabajo: ______ con vecinos: ______ de compras: ______

Cohesión de la comunidad

1. ¿Qué grupos étnicos o diferentes razas viven aquí en su barrio? ________

____

2. ¿Son todos más o menos de la misma condición socio-económica, o hay ricos, diplomáticos, etc.? ____________________________________

____

3. ¿Vive la mayor parte de sus amigos en el barrio? ¿Con quién se identifica más? ____

____

4. ¿Es cierto que todos los latinos que llegan a esta zona primero vienen al barrio, por la Columbia Road con la calle 18? ¿Se quedan aquí o se van a los suburbios? ¿De qué depende? ______________________________

____

____

5. ¿Predomina una nacionalidad en particular, una región de la América Latina, o están representados todos los países igualmente aquí en el barrio? ______________________________

____

6. ¿Cuántas personas (cree) hay aquí en el barrio de origen latinoamericano y cuántas en total, incluyendo a los suburbios? ____________________

____

7. ¿Cómo puede una persona que no es latino o latina hacerse miembro de la comunidad latina en este barrio? ¿por medio del matrimonio con latino, si trabaja con alguna institución que brinda ayuda al barrio, etc., o no es posible pertenecer?

____

____

8. ¿Depende del barrio para cubrir todas sus necesidades como comida, reparaciones, asistencia médica, diversión, etc.?

____

____

9. ¿Utiliza los servicios de bienestar, de ayuda y orientación que se ofrecen aquí en el barrio? ¿Participa en las actividades socio-culturales?

____

____

Adicionales para líderes

1. ¿Cuáles considera que son los principales problemas de la comunidad latina en el área de Washington? ¿Son distintos para las personas que viven en el barrio en comparación con los que viven en las afueras? Elabore.
2. ¿Qué grado de cohesión existe en la comunidad vs. barrio? Elabore.
3. ¿Qué porcentaje calcula está aquí sin papeles?______________________

Nombre:

Organizacion:

Q-Sort (en orden de colocación)

1. Los 5 líderes que mejor representan los intereses de la comunidad.
    a.
    b.
    c.
    d.
    e.
2. Las 5 agencias o instituciones que mejor sirven a la comunidad.
    a.
    b.
    c.
    d.
    e.

Appendix B

Agencies that Provided Information for this Study

1. Adelante (Hispanic Council)

2. Andrómeda (mental health)

3. Ayuda (legal services)

4. Centro Católico Hispánico (church and guidance service)

5. Churrería Española Restaurant

6. Comité de Acercamiento/Proyecto Puente/Potters House

7. Eofula (Spanish Senior Center)

8. Gala Spanish Theater

9. Gavilán Grocery Store

10a. Housing Council

10b. Latin District Community Police

11. *Prisma* (TV program in Spanish)

12. Red Cross

13. Roving Recreational Leader Program

14. Spanish Educational Development (SED) Center—particularly Gilberto Guevara

15. United Labor Agency

16. Wilson International Center

Language Maintenance, Policy, and Planning

Language Planning: Acceptability and Adequacy Criteria

Ana Celia Zentella

About the Author

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Introduction

Language planning can take place at a national policy level and at a regional or local level. These remarks are relevant to input that must be provided at the national level, but they are particularly directed to the formulation of language policy at the local level—e.g., the kind that occurs within local school systems and affects minority language children. Planning at the local level is emphasized for two reasons.

The first reason is historical. Heath's research on the history of language policy in the United States documents the fact that "early national leaders chose not to endorse any language policy at the federal level. Instead, they recognized that decisions on language choice and change would be made at local and regional levels by citizens responding to communicative needs and goals they themselves identified" (Heath, 1977, p. 270). This tradition has persisted, and there is no explicit national language policy in the United States today.

The second reason is a practical one and is obvious on its face: it is easier to have greater impact on the local level, especially for those who are members of the affected linguistic minorities.

I am a member of the Puerto Rican community in the United States. The 1980 Census is expected to reveal that, for the first time, the majority of Puerto Ricans residing in the United States were born on the mainland, not on the island of Puerto Rico. The Puerto Rican community is concerned about the future of Spanish in the third generation, and several groups—among them the Center for Puerto Rican Studies in New York City—have grappled with the problem of finding the best approach to language planning for linguistic minorities in multiethnic nations (National Puerto Rican Task Force, 1977; Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, 1978).

A working paper of the Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños (1978) delineates four stages in the language planning process. The first, research, is the basis for stage two, the formulation of policy; these are followed by stages three and four, implementation and evaluation. The Centro is interested in criteria employed in the evaluation stage. More precisely, how can one tell if a language policy for the Spanish-speaking community will be effective at the local or national level? Two criteria for effectiveness reviewed by the Centro are those of adequacy and acceptability.

The Adequacy Criterion

Will the language plan be adequate to enable those whom it is supposed to benefit to meet the complex demands of work, study, and life in a technological society? For those concerned about the educational needs and future development of 1.7 million Spanish-speaking children in U.S. schools, the adequacy criterion demands that the schools teach them to speak, read, and write standard English and standard Spanish. However, standard dialects are not the only varieties of language that carry out important communicative functions. In fact, research on the nonstandard dialect of many Afro Americans in the United States, Black English Vernacular (BEV), has shown that the insistence of schools on the use of standard English only and its failure to recognize the systematicity of BEV and its role in the community was counterproductive (Labov, 1972a).

Educational language policies that stress uniformity and repudiate nonstandard dialects have not achieved standardization in the Black and Hispanic communities in the United States. On the other hand, they have had at least three negative repercussions.

First, linguistic differences have become correlated with deviance and inferiority. Speakers of Spanish or of a nonstandard variety of English are often considered to be less intelligent than speakers of standard dialects of English. The recent Ann Arbor case challenged this correlation: the courts acknowledged that standardized testing of Black English speakers led to a gross mislabeling of the linguistic and intellectual abilities of the children involved (Vaughn-Cooke, 1979).

Second, mislabeling of this nature in turn leads to a destructive self-image for the group. This image is reflected in some sections of the Puerto Rican community by such statements as: "Spanish is hicky," "uncool," or "*jíbaro* talk," but English is "with it," "what's happening," "*chévere.*" The implication is that Spanish speakers, including all Latin Americans, are inferior to English speakers.

Finally, a language policy in the schools that rejects the prevailing community dialect does not have much success in teaching the standard dialect. Negative attitudes toward the Spanish dialects that students speak at home cause a sense of such linguistic inferiority that they block some students from speaking or learning. Many Hispanics have had the experience of hearing a second-generation Spanish speaker painfully stumble through a Spanish lesson and balk at the subjunctive, only to overhear him or her later in the cafeteria eagerly conversing and using subjunctives appropriately. On the other hand, there are those students who embrace strict adherence to a standard, often a false standard, and become some of the worst critics. Some of them would have me pronounce my name Ana Θɛlia Θɛntɛlya, changing the *c* and *z* to the Castilian "ceceo," and insist on *impermeable* instead of *capa, sobretodo* instead of *abrigo.*

The extent to which Spanish speakers in the United States have suffered linguistic discrimination in monolingual English classes has been widely documented. The fact that Spanish speakers are often not faring much better in bilingual programs is now being realized. In the monolingual classes, students were told that the problem was that we did not speak English, or that they spoke Chicano English, Puerto Rican English, or Black English. In a bilingual classroom they may be told that their problem is that they "don't speak *real* Spanish," or that they speak

Spanglish, as code-switching is labeled. For the adequacy criterion to be met, a language policy must respect and encourage linguistic diversity. An adequate language policy for Hispanics and other linguistic minorities in the United States should seek the expansion of their linguistic repertoires, not their substitution.

The first and second points of the language policy agendas proposed by the National Puerto Rican Task Force on Educational Policy (NPRTFEP, 1977) reflect the adequacy criterion. They propose:

- Full bilinguality beyond the first generation
- Spoken and written command of standard Spanish and English, without downgrading nonstandard dialects and code-switching.

The Acceptability Criterion

In order to be judged effective, a language policy must not only be adequate in the ways outlined above but also be acceptable to the community for which it is planned. The criterion of acceptability is successfully met if a language policy is smoothly integrated into the life of the community: if, in other words, the community readily adopts the policy. But how is community defined in multiethnic societies? Does this mean that the dominant speech community, composed of English monolinguals in the United States, must accept the policy? Or does it mean that the linguistic minorities who will be most directly affected by the policies should accept them? The most effective language policy, of course, would be one acceptable to both groups.

Let us assume that this is possible, and that this policy is the goal of the present discussion and of our work in general. What are the prerequisites for an effective national language policy? Some of the crucial ones are not in the realm of linguistics, but concern the appropriate political and economic structure for a democratic national language policy. Those factors that are within the professional sphere of influence, however, have to do with the research design that will provide the indispensable information for the formulation of the goals and strategies of the language policy.

A language policy is most likely to be acceptable to a community if previous research has determined what is necessary, what is feasible, and what is desirable, in the community's terms. Researchers must keep in mind, however, that the community is not homogeneous. Recent research in two distinct areas, the United States-Canadian border towns and the Puerto Rican community in New York City's barrio, provide examples of the conflicting positions that different sectors of the same community can take.

In towns along the borders of Maine and French Canada, seventh-, ninth-, and eleventh-grade students and professional community members were asked about their attitudes toward French-English code-switching.

The majority of the students believed that mixing two or more languages in a single sentence was questionable or entirely unacceptable. In contrast, 62 percent of the border town professionals found code-switching acceptable (Schweda, 1980). In el barrio, ninety-one block residents and another sample of forty-one teachers were asked their position on an issue that is hotly debated in some circles: whether or not Spanish is necessary to the cultural identity of Puerto Ricans. Of the block residents, 83.5 percent felt it is not necessary. On the other hand, 62.5 percent of the teachers believed that Spanish *is* necessary to this identity (Centro, 1970).

What should educational policy makers in Madawaska, Maine and el barrio do? Which community group's views should be the basis for the language policy? If policy makers go by the responses of the community residents, these could be interpreted to mean that intrasentential code-switching should not be allowed in the classrooms in Maine, and that bilingual programs in New York City need not strive to maintain Spanish as well as teach English. If, on the other hand, the responses of the professionals become the basis for the educational language policy, how effective will the policy be if it is unacceptable to the students and their parents?

Language planners must ask themselves what factors account for the apparent cleavage between the community and the professionals. Are these cleavages as deep as they appear to be? Is it possible that the questionnaire format elicits a stance that is not really representative of what the respondents would accept? There is evidence to suggest that adherence to explicit positions on language issues based on responses to a questionnaire might result in a distorted language policy. The work of Giles and Rowesland (1975) and others has demonstrated that matched guises can tap the subjects' covert norms. These covert norms reveal that the community does value nonstandard varieties and informal registers, and that it correlates them with important affective variables, such as trust and honesty.

If the goal is to design and implement an effective language policy that incorporates community values, the most accurate picture of the speech community's linguistic needs, attitudes, and desires is provided by the holistic approach characteristic of ethnography (Hymes, 1973; Heather, 1978). Ethnographic research requires observation, recording, and participation in different social networks within a wide range of natural settings. In this writer's current ethnographic work in el barrio, the linguistic behavior of children and adults reveals that the highest status is given to those residents who speak, read, and write both Spanish and English well. In many cases, these are also the best code-switchers in the community. Although respondents have learned to apologize for their own code-switching, they also admit to admiring those who are fluent code-switchers.

While a realistic appreciation of the community's attitudes emerges from ethnographic research, it also provides a broader understanding of language variation and the rules for the ways of speaking in the community. This knowledge can contribute to the resolution of questions concerning the appropriate role of standard and nonstandard varieties in the classroom. In addition, some of the basic impediments to learning for all poor children, not only those for linguistic minorities, are conflicts between the functions of language in the community and the functions of language in the school. Insight into these conflicts can be obtained by comparing regulation, instruction, information in "family talk" with the same discourse functions in "teacher talk" (Heath, 1979).

If a language policy is to be effective, it must not only be acceptable because it builds upon observed or elicited community language practices, but should also be acceptable in a much more profound way. As the Centro states it:

> From a politically committed standpoint, another criterion should be added as well, one that evaluates the increase in political autonomy, democratic administration, and overall social equality and well-being of the population for whom policy is being formulated. (Centro de Estudios Puertorriqueños, 1978, p. 5)

One last comment should be made about the formidable task of planning policy in the United States to honor the rights of linguistic minorities. For this to happen, the legislative and judicial systems must recognize that linguistic discrimination in the United States is akin to the stigma caused by bias on racial and religious grounds. In the meantime, the most effective language policy plans can be implemented at the local level. In these efforts, there may be much divergence in Spanish-speaking communities, given the particularities of each community; e.g., a Puerto Rican community may differ from a Chicano community in its definition of what is adequate and acceptable. In those instances these groups can work together to create the climate that allows for differences and to support such a climate in their sister communities. On larger issues, such as bilingual education, concerned groups may be able to work much closer together to design the best language policy.

One thing is clear. All the years of linguistic discrimination that Puerto Ricans and Mexicans and other Spanish speakers have faced in the United States should have demonstrated the need for some indispensable elements of a democratic language policy at both the local and national levels.

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Language Planning for Bilingual Communities: Part of the Federal Perspective

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This conference has addressed language planning and language policy issues and their execution from a variety of perspectives. The discussion has focused on micro as well as macro issues of language acquisition and use of language and languages. The topics reflect problems that have a long history and have been studied in varying degrees for a variety of reasons. The complexity of these problems, moreover, is not easy to sort out in terms of source and implication. That is, policy of the type addressed in this conference appears to have numerous sources, i.e., federal, state, and even local at times.

While the U.S. Department of Education is involved daily in language planning issues by virtue of the types of legislative mandates that it is required to carry out, it is not the only federal entity that engages in the practice. Our concern here is with education-related language policy, its implementation, and its consequences, though it is important to point out that language policy formulation at the federal level, unfortunately, remains a departmental task. That is, the U.S. Department of Education designs, implements, and interprets policy in a manner that will assist it to achieve its mission and objectives. To be sure, Congress oversees policy to some degree, but for the most part the secretary of education is accorded much flexibility. The avenues used for the conduct of these tasks, of course, are those of the respective Education Department agencies or offices. It is in fact the complexity of this agency structure that makes any study of policy origins difficult.

Another difficulty is the fact that language policy formulation has shifted focus numerous times. At one point, states were given or allowed to set language policy to suit their needs. For example, many states mandated that all schooling be conducted in English only. At other times, states allowed public schools to use languages other than English for instructional purposes. The trend has been toward the formulation of language policy at the federal level, though states continue to protect their authority and power to control policy that affects them.

The current federal involvement in educational policy is evidenced by the creation of the U.S. Department of Education by the Congress. The Congress has legislated authority to the department to carry out programs of bilingual education through Title VII of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965. The department, through the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs (OBEMLA), awards funds to local education agencies (LEAs) to implement approved programs of instruction that make use of English and the native language of the students who are, for the most part, limited in their English proficiency. The department also awards funds to institutions of higher education (IHEs) to train teachers to teach in programs of bilingual education. Finally, the department, through OBEMLA and other federal agencies, awards funds to individuals and organizations to conduct research in bilingualism and bilingual education matters, including language planning.

In addition, the Congress has legislated authority to the department to carry out numerous activities of a civil rights nature. Thus, the Office of Civil Rights (OCR) carries out enforcement tasks in this area. Because instruction in a language understood by the student is now recognized as a civil right as a consequence of the 1974 *Lau* v. *Nichols* decision by the U.S. Supreme Court, the Office of Civil Rights is authorized to engage in enforcement activities related to language education. Consequently, the office provides funds for technical assistance to local school districts so that they might comply with existing federal policy and court mandates that address the equal educational opportunities that must be guaranteed to all persons, including limited-English-proficient (LEP) students.

In a very real sense, the activities of these two federal agencies (OBEMLA and OCR) reflect decisions made by the Congress to implement language policy. Unfortunately, the policy is evident only by inference in many cases. The mission and objectives which OBEMLA is charged to carry out are a pertinent example. Specific language policy is evidenced in Title VII simply because it addresses children of limited English proficiency in elementary and secondary schools and the necessary support services such as materials development and teacher training. The legislation, moreover, addresses a host of language-related issues; issues that are interpreted in the context of approved rules and regulations. Three particular points will be addressed here.

The current Title VII rules and regulations stipulate that bilingual education programs will reflect a ratio of up to sixty LEP students to forty non-LEP students. (Note that the stipulation is at the program level and not at the classroom level.) This regulation implies that student segregation is contrary to law and that the implementation of the stipulation ensures integration. It also reveals a federal assumption about the learning benefits of mixed program environments. A second stipulation made in the rules and regulations is that bilingual education programs must be staffed with qualified bilingual teachers who can teach in English and in the native language of the students. This implies that language requirements are part of the understood professional requirements and that this requirement is job related. Likewise, the stipulation reveals a federal thrust in teacher training areas that assists in the attainment of a "qualified teacher" pool. The third stipulation is that students be tested with linguistically and culturally appropriate assessment instruments. This requirement implies that, just as an all-English curriculum is unacceptable for LEP students, assessment conducted only in English is also unacceptable. Moreover, the regulations stipulate that all assessment instrumentation must be categorized into instrumentation that assesses handicaps or other factors.

In summary, language planning and subsequent language policy require numerous behaviors. The first requirement is a full assessment of the problem. That is, an initial assessment must be made to determine (1) who is using what languages, and to what degrees the persons are able to use the languages; (2) which institutions are using what languages, including an assessment of the role and importance of the institutions in society; and (3) which environments use only English for particular reasons. Subsequent to this assessment, attention must be given to policy design that is implementable. A comprehensive plan to gauge the impact of the policy in terms of institutional and population behavior changes must also be created and validated. Policy impact must be determined in the context of an extended period of overt policy application so that its consequences will be fully understood. Finally, and most important, the nature of language policy formulation merits a full-scale investigation. For example, should the policy address the use of all languages other than English spoken in the United States, or only a limited number of languages? These are indeed complex requirements, but they are necessary in order to ensure that fair, appropriate, and effective policy is adopted.

There remains the issue of policy interrelatedness. Language policy in education must be designed to intersect with or at least complement other policy areas such as employment and commerce on national and international scales. In the absence of a comprehensive federal matrix that couples existing policy and allows planners to chart respective consequences, language planning efforts can only result in fragmented and narrowly utilitarian application and impact. The Congress did establish the Office of Bilingual Education and Minority Languages Affairs, but it also created numerous other offices such as the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Post Secondary Education and the Office of the Assistant Secretary for Elementary and Secondary Education, both of which implement or at least interpret policy to meet their respective needs. While federal policy in language matters is complex and somewhat comprehensive, it also remains departmentalized and subject to a variety of interpretations.

Mantenimiento del español: Enfoque y crítica

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En estas páginas se examinarán hechos dialectales y tipos de investigación que afectan el mantenimiento del español en los Estados Unidos. Este enfoque y crítica de la planificación lingüística se basan en sucesos sociales y académicos que el idioma español ha sufrido en la última década. Las cuestiones que se examinarán son diversas pero convergen en el sentido de que todas tienen que ver directamente con el mantenimiento del español:

- ¿Cuál es el grado permitible de interferencia inglesa en el español?

- ¿Qué procedimiento se debe seguir para hacer un bosquejo descriptivo de una variedad del español?

- ¿Cómo se puede cultivar el interés del hispanohablante por su dialecto?

- ¿Cuál debe ser el enfoque de un estudio dialectal?

- ¿Cuáles comparaciones se deben hacer con otras variedades del español?

- ¿Se puede usar un compendio de formas gramaticales para estudiar las variedades españolas?

- ¿Cuál debe ser el papel del lingüista en la educación bilingüe?

Quizás la cuestión más grave sobre el mantenimiento del español en los Estados Unidos sea la interferencia inglesa. Al hablar del grado de interferencia se tiene que reconocer que el lingüista es tanto observador como autoridad. Al describir los anglicismos que se emplean en el español sean palabras, sea el intercalamiento lingüístico (es decir "code-switching"), el lingüista actúa en su papel tradicional de observador científico.

Pero esto no es suficiente si uno está verdaderamente interesado en mantener el español como lengua viva en los Estados Unidos. ¿Por qué? Simplemente, porque puede llegar el momento cuando el número de anglicismos y el grado de intercalamiento lingüístico inglés-español lleguen a ser tan altos que se comience a perder el español. Entonces se tienen que desarrollar criterios para decidir hasta qué punto deben usar los anglicismos en el español. Esto implica el papel del lingüista como autoridad.

La mención de intercalamiento lingüístico, o code-switching, no es una crítica sobre este código. El individuo que ha desarrollado plenamente los tres códigos (el inglés, el español, y la habilidad de code-switching) ha llegado a un nivel de dominio muy sofisticado. Lo ideal sería un dominio de los tres códigos, pero no se debe confundir el dominio del español con el código de code-switching. En el momento que se acepta el código del inglés y el código de code-switching pero no se reconoce el código independiente del español, se está afirmando la categoría secundaria del español en los Estados Unidos.

Se ha dicho que los préstamos del árabe no destruyeron la base del castellano y que uno no debe temer la interferencia inglesa. Esta es una analogía errónea. El dialecto mozárabe, la variedad del hispanoromance que se hablaba en el sur de España bajo el dominio árabe, reflejaba este dominio político y cultural y por fin dejó de existir. El castellano perduró precisamente por ser el idioma del conquistador y el habla de la élite que unificó a España en 1492. La lengua española en los Estados Unidos sufre un dominio político y cultural semejante al caso del mozárabe y no al castellano de Isabel la Católica.

Para el hispanohablante en los Estados Unidos resultan ser muy importantes las observaciones históricas y culturales de su dialecto. Aunque un estudio descriptivo típico no incluye tales observaciones, el hispanohablante se interesa en el origen de ciertas palabras, los arcaísmos en su idioma, y los contactos con otros idiomas que han afectado el desarrollo de su dialecto. El hispanohablante se interesa en estos aspectos porque forman parte de su patrimonio cultural. El lingüista puede cultivar este interés y desarrollarlo de tal manera que la investigación de un dialecto sirva como apoyo al mantenimiento del español. En los párrafos que siguen se examinarán unos aspectos necesarios para una investigación dialectal que podría, además, incluir información cultural que interesa al hispanohablante.

En un bosquejo descriptivo de un dialecto no es necesario desarrollar un estudio estadístico para cada forma sintáctica. Una descripción general como la de Lozano (1976) puede interesar al público. Hay metodologías apropiadas para ciertas investigaciones y otras que no lo son. Si se necesita un bosquejo general de un dialecto, se puede proceder directamente a encontrar las características importantes. Por ejemplo, se puede identificar el grupo importante de formas sintácticas. De esta manera se revela lo que contiene el dialecto. Esto no quiere decir que en un momento dado no sea necesario hacer un estudio estadístico de alguna forma que muestra otros asuntos sociolingüísticos; para el bosquejo general, esto no es necesario. Un estudio demasiado minucioso sobre una forma sintáctica o de un fonema puede dar una perspectiva falsa sobre todas las características lingüísticas del dialecto en su totalidad.

Si ya se tiene un conocimiento extenso de la dialectología española, y se sabe que ciertas formas sintácticas ocurren en la mayoría de los dialectos del español, no se les tiene que dar tanta importancia a esas formas si se trata de encontrar cuáles son las formas sintácticas típicas de un dialecto específico. En 1909 Espinosa hizo el primer estudio extenso de un dialecto del español—el de Colorado y Nuevo México. Desde esa época se han hecho comparaciones con alguna norma del español. Generalmente se han hecho con la norma culta de España; a veces, se hacen abiertamente en comparación con la norma culta de México. Pero ningún lingüista que ha trabajado en la dialectología está completamente satisfecho con tener que hacer tales comparaciones explícitamente o tácitamente.

Phillips, por ejemplo, en su estudio del español de Los Angeles (1967), trató de no hacer comparaciones, pero cuando se lee el estudio se sabe que está implícita la comparación con otros dialectos del español. No se pueden evitar tales comparaciones y en esto se tiene que ser realista. Si, por ejemplo, se hace un estudio del español sefardita de Nueva York, se tiene que reconocer la gran semejanza entre esta variedad del español y el español moderno de diferentes partes del mundo. Sería irreal y falso negar las relaciones que existen entre esta variedad del español y las otras.

¿Para qué hacer este hincapié en la cuestión de las variedades? Cuando se estudia una cierta comunidad, se conocen los hechos dialectales y lo que ha pasado a través de los siglos, y se permite observar que sí ha habido ciertos cambios en la lengua española. Si no hubieran ocurrido esos cambios fonológicos y gramaticales en la lengua, simplemente no habría la variedad dialectal que existe hoy en el mundo hispánico.

Estos puntos se dirigen a la falta de un punto de referencia cuando se hacen los estudios sintácticos. Tácitamente el lingüista hace las comparaciones con las formas de la norma culta o con otras variedades del español; quizás se podría impulsar a un equipo a desarrollar un compendio de las formas sintácticas para todas las variedades del español. Tal compendio no estaría necesariamente basado en un dialecto; daría una posibilidad de diferentes formas que se han encontrado en el mundo hispánico. Tal propuesta daría cierta cohesión a los múltiples estudios sobre el español que se están haciendo en los Estados Unidos. Les daría esa cohesión el el sentido de que aunque tal compendio fuera arbitrario, sería por lo menos un punto de referencia.

¿Cuál debe ser el papel del lingüista en la educación bilingüe? En las instituciones y dentro de los círculos que dirigen la educación bilingüe ha sido mínimo. Hay muchas áreas donde los lingüistas podrían aportar explicaciones, propuestas, programas prácticos, y materiales pero esto no ha ocurrido. Lo que se llama la educación bilingüe no ha llegado a lo que podría ser. El resultado es que muchas veces el niño que sale de las clases de educación bilingüe no aprende a manejar los dos idiomas. Si hubiera alguna manera en la cual los lingüistas podrían tener una influencia mayor dentro de la educación bilingüe, podrían aportar bastante conocimiento a la planificación lingüística.

Al concluir el autor quisiera hacer hincapié en dos puntos. Decidió hablar en español por una simple razón: si nuestro plan es mantener el español y encontrar métodos para mantener el español en los Estados Unidos, tenemos que usar el español en nuestra profesión y hablarles a nuestros niños en español en casa. Si no comenzamos en casa y en la profesión, la guerra está perdida antes de iniciarla.

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Planning for Biliteracy

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About the Author

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In the United States, both inside and outside the Southwest, there are a large number of Hispanic communities that are bilingual. Very few of them, however, are biliterate. Until very recently in most of these communities, domains in which the written Spanish language was used were virtually nonexistent. This paper will focus on the development of strategies for bringing about biliteracy in Hispanic communities, and will assume that biliteracy is desirable. While there is much that remains unknown about language maintenance and language retention, and particularly about the possible impact of the existence of biliterate skills on these processes, it is apparent that if biliteracy is indeed a factor, committed action is necessary now. Therefore, we must become *lingüistas comprometidos,* linguists committed to applying what we now know or suspect to the fostering of language maintenance in specific Hispanic communities. We must do this even while the research is ongoing, and while investigations about the nature of community bilingualism are still proceeding. In this spirit, then, a more fitting title for this presentation might be "Planning for Biliteracy in Hispanic Communities: Or What to Do until the Research Is In." Much is possible in three separate areas: (1) teaching Spanish as a subject in high school and college to Hispanic bilinguals; (2) training bilingual teachers; and (3) developing community activities for out-of-school bilingual adults.

Teaching Spanish as a subject to bilingual students is a logical first step. To those who are serious about the commitment to bringing about biliteracy in Hispanic communities, it will soon become evident that the public schools already have available a mechanism through which young bilinguals can have access to the written Spanish language. Traditionally, Spanish has been taught and continues to be taught as a subject (actually as a foreign language) in most U.S. high schools. If linguists can convince enough teachers of Spanish that new and very special courses must be developed for bilingual students, courses which focus on the written language and not on eradicating the students' home dialect, half the battle will be won.

Much has already been done in this area.[1] Spanish teaching professionals around the country have begun to respond positively to the idea that Hispanic bilingual students should be given something beyond a discussion of traditional grammar and dialogue repetition. Positions for directors of Spanish language programs designed for bilingual speakers are now commonly advertised.[2]

Getting to the current state of affairs has not been easy. It has taken many dedicated individuals who were willing to address the issue, first as a "problem" for the profession, and finally as an opportunity for giving students specific life-time skills. The Spanish teaching profession was not and is not now thoroughly prepared to do this. Spanish teachers have not been trained to teach Spanish as a native language. Teacher trainers have not been trained to train teachers. Appropriate textbooks are not available. Publishers willing to take the risk of publishing texts for an unknown market are still rare. Committed action in this area, then, involves continuing the work already begun. It means speaking out so that Spanish teaching professionals and other modern language professionals will understand that instruction for bilingual students involves pedagogical approaches quite different from those used in second language teaching. Committed action also requires implementing special methodology courses in Spanish language departments, courses which have a status equal to those intended for providing training in modern language instruction. It means continuing to point out that if English as a second language (ESL) and regular language arts courses in English require different training for teachers, different texts for students, and indeed different professional associations, it is because there are fundamental differences between working with native speakers and working with language learners. Most specifically, however, teaching Spanish to bilingual students means emphasizing again and again that biliteracy must be the primary objective of such instruction. It means elaborating arguments that will make clear why developing confident reading skills in Spanish is more important for the bilingual Hispanic student than developing skills for identifying the subjunctive.

In short, working in this area involves "selling" a concept—selling an idea that frustrated, well-meaning and even indifferent teachers will accept. It means working to establish a new professional option. But most important, it means *lingüistas comprometidos* should also work on the local level, becoming involved in Spanish language instruction in the communities and junior and senior high schools. Committed linguists must resolve to do everything possible to ensure that not a single Hispanic student leaves a Spanish class without having learned to read and write.

The second area, the training of bilingual teachers, is equally necessary in a plan designed to bring about biliteracy. This area is particularly crucial because many individuals believe that bilingual programs committed to language maintenance can indeed make a difference in a community's retaining a language. Yet, if little is known about the best practices for introducing reading and writing in Spanish to bilingual students, even less is known about what practices can be implemented in training bilingual prospective teachers who are English-dominant. How indeed does one train people who have spoken Spanish at home and received all their education in English? How does one cause them to feel comfortable in the registers appropriate for teaching subject matter in Spanish? How does one develop their reading and writing skills so that they can actually teach reading and writing?

While this may not be a problem in Cuban communities, it is said to be a serious problem in Puerto Rican communities. It is unquestionably a problem in Chicano communities inside and outside the Southwest. In New Mexico, for example, a recent study[3] found that most bilingual teachers could not read third-grade-level textbooks written in Spanish. If such is the case, it is unrealistic to talk about language maintenance bilingual programs. One must address, for example, the very serious problem of what happens in bilingual classrooms when the teacher can't spell in Spanish and is using the language experience approach to teach reading. One needs to undertake the task of working with prospective bilingual teachers now in order to find answers to the questions that colleges of education will ask, for example, how many semesters of course work will it take? How much can be expected? There are many courses required of teachers. Unless consistent objectives are formulated for courses so that graduates will really be literate in two languages, it is unlikely that colleges of education will work with linguists. One cannot suggest that teachers take an unspecified number of courses until their skills are satisfactory. Indeed linguists must explore exactly how much can be done and for how long with motivated and interested individuals.

Here again are the activities that committed linguists working in departments of Spanish must undertake. Clearly they must design courses. They must fight political battles within their departments. They must prepare materials, and achieve at least some of their objectives in a reasonable length of time.

In a plan designed to bring about biliteracy in a specific community, the two areas discussed above are not enough. The plan addresses the question of biliteracy for bilingual youngsters who have received all of their education in English and who find that taking Spanish as a subject in junior high school is their first opportunity to work with written Spanish. It also addresses the area of bilingual education by concentrating on the training of bilingual teachers. It must, however, also concern itself with promoting biliteracy at the community level, among bilingual out-of-school adults.

As existing research shows, bilingual communities themselves often organize language-centered activities which have as their purpose the strengthening or maintenance of the language. It has been found, however, that Hispanic communities do this rarely, for reasons as yet undetermined.

In the Hispanic community in which the author works, it is also difficult to determine exactly why individuals have not formed organizations that might result in the promotion of biliteracy. Three separate groups of Hispanics can be identified: recent immigrants; working class, Spanish-dominant, largely uneducated Hispanics; and upwardly mobile, successful and well-educated Hispanics. This last group is particularly interested in its Spanish heritage. In a recent survey of the community the author found that 145 out of 220 individuals were interested in attending a Spanish activity night that would focus on a brush-up of written language skills.

The Foreign Language Department at New Mexico State University is currently implementing a course which was advertised widely in the community through the regular newspaper and through Spanish radio and television. The course was advertised as a course to brush up on Spanish skills for bilingual adults. We had room for twenty-five people. One hundred and twenty responded. This project, funded by the National Endowment for the Humanities, is intended to demonstrate the implementation of a model community course activity which might be suitable for replication in other communities. Our purpose is to create within the community a renewed interest in the Spanish language and, more specifically, a mechanism within which bilingual adults who feel that they have always wanted to be able to read and write in Spanish may be able to acquire those skills.

Philosophically, our position is that if communities lack institutions that might bring about biliteracy, then we, as committed linguists, must create them. Such approaches may not work; perhaps such activities must indeed be generated from within a community and not from without. But by working in a mode that involves moving forward before linguists have those answers, we can claim that such activities are certainly worth trying. For if we fail, the community cannot be worse off than it was.

Finally, it is important to mention the fact that when committed linguists talk about language planning or language policy, they do so at the macro level. However, those who work and live in Spanish-speaking communities must begin to think about language planning at the micro level. Besides studying language varieties, conversational interaction, and types of bilingualism, linguists must apply their knowledge to helping communities retain Spanish. Rather than merely documenting language shift or language loss, perhaps they should participate centrally in experimenting with creating mechanisms, institutions, and strategies that will enable communities to depart from the model established for immigrant bilingualism. Such a departure, in itself small, would be a major triumph.

Notes

1. See Guadalupe Valdés-Fallis, "A Comprehensive Approach to the Teaching of Spanish to Bilingual Spanish-speaking Students," *Modern Language Journal* 63, no. 3 (1978):101-110.
2. The University of California at Santa Cruz, for example, has advertised a position in "Teaching Spanish to the Spanish-Speaking." The position was to be filled in the 1981–82 academic year.
3. In an examination administered to bilingual teachers in the state of New Mexico by Henry Pascual, it was found that only thirteen teachers out of 136 from seven different school districts could read in Spanish at the third-grade level. For a full report on this topic, see Henry W. Pascual, "La educación bilingüe: retórica y realidad." *Defensa*, nos. 4-5 (Nov. 1976), pp. 4-7.

Glossary

Abstract Generative Phonology. A model of phonology, associated with Transformational Generative Grammar, in which underlying forms are posited on the basis of morphophonemic alternations.

Aspiration. The pronunciation of any Spanish consonant (especially /s/) as [h]; e.g., *loh* for *los*.

Assimilation. The realization of a given phoneme as a sound similar in point or manner of articulation to an adjacent sound, e.g., in nasal assimilation the phoneme /n/ is pronounced as bilabial [m] before /p/, as in *e*[m] *Perú* for *en Perú*. In the realization of /s/ as assimilation, this phoneme is represented by a sound identical to the consonant that follows, e.g., [étto] for *esto*.

Bound Morpheme. A morpheme that has to be attached to others to constitute words, e.g., -ly in *sadly*, -s in *casas*.

Code-Shifting. The shift from one language to another by one speaker to compensate for insufficient knowledge of one of the languages.

Code-Switching. Changing from one language to another within a single discourse, sentence, or constituent. It is usually determined by social and stylistic factors.

Communicative Competence. Knowledge of the language structure and rules of usage needed to function adequately in a given community; different from linguistic competence, which includes only the knowledge of the structure of a language or dialect.

Consonantal Radicalism. The "radical" or "extreme" tendency to delete consonants or to pronounce them in ways sometimes considerably removed from their underlying identity, e.g., /s/ pronounced as [h], /r/ as [y], etc.

Constituents. A linguistic element that is a component part of a larger unit, e.g., subject and predicate in a sentence.

Constraints (on Rule Application). Factors that influence either positively or negatively the application of a syntactic or phonological rule. These may be linguistic, stylistic, or sociological in nature.

Deletion. The omission of one or more sounds from the pronunciation of a given word. If *bondad* is pronounced *bondá*, deletion of /d/ has occurred. In theoretical terms, it is the representation of a given phoneme by its "zero" allophone, symbolized ϕ.

Dialect. A regional or social variety of a language whose linguistic features—pronunciation, grammar, and vocabulary—differ from other varieties.

Dialectal Complex. A group of dialects belonging to the same language, e.g., Castilian, Cuban, and Puerto Rican are dialects of the Spanish dialectal complex.

Diglossia. A language situation in which two different varieties of a language fulfill different functions for its speakers. The "high" variety is used for writing and for formal styles of speech, and the "low" variety is used for daily interaction.

Domains. Concepts such as "home," "church," "work," etc., that are congruent combinations of a particular kind of speaker, topic(s), and place, each of which calls for a certain type of language use. In bilingual communities choice of language is often determined by the social domain.

Equivalence Constraint. A constraint ruling out code-switching at points in discourse where juxtaposition of L1 and L2 elements violates a syntactic rule of either language.

Extrinsic Order. Rules may apply in order A-B or B-A with different outputs. The extrinsic ordering of phonological rules is imposed "from the outside" by the analyst, so that the output will agree with the data, not on an empirical basis.

Free Morpheme Constraint. According to this constraint, codes may be switched after any constituent in discourse provided that constituent is not a bound morpheme. Thus, a segment such as IRON-eando, where the Spanish bound morpheme *-eando* (-ing) is affixed to the English root *iron* cannot be produced.

Functional. Having communicative value in the language, e.g., /s/ in *Vino con unas sobrinas* is functional, for its absence would result in a different message.

Functionalist Hypothesis. The hypothesis that phonological rules may be constrained by the morpho-syntactic function of the segment that is affected by the rule.

Intrinsic Order. Rules ordered according to their intrinsic form. Thus any two rules, A, B, may apply in the order A-B or B-A with the same result. Usually said to be equivalent to unordered rules.

Lambdacism. The pronunciation of /r/ as [l], e.g., [kálta] for *carta.*

Language Contact. A situation in which two or more languages are brought together in the linguistic competence of a bilingual speaker.

Level of Significance. A notion important in statistical analysis that relates to the likelihood that something is or is not a chance occurrence.

Lexical Restructuring. The change in underlying forms because of changes in the phonological rules.

Liquid Gliding. The pronunciation of both /l/ and /r/ as [y], e.g., [ayto] for both *alto* and *harto*. The phenomenon is typical of, but not exclusive to, certain Dominican dialects.

Locative. An adverb or adverbial phrase that indicates the location of a thing or event.

Mutual Intelligibility. The fact that speakers of different languages or dialects understand each other well enough so as not to have to resort to a third language or dialect.

Natural Generative Phonology. A model of phonology in which phonological rules must represent surface true phonological generalizations.

Nucleus (of a Syllable). The vowel in a syllable.

Phonetic Erosion. The tendency to delete sounds frequently.

Phonetic Neutralization. The representation of two or more phonemes by the same sound in a given phonetic environment without loss of underlying contrast, e.g., /l/ and /r/ are phonetically neutralized when both are pronounced as [l] in postnuclear position, but since /r/ is also pronounced as [r] sometimes in the same environment and for the same words, the contrast between the phonemes /l/ and /r/ has not disappeared from that environment.

Phonological Environment. The context in which a sound occurs, expressed in terms of the adjacent sounds, e.g., "intervocalic position," "after consonants," "before nasals," etc., are phonological environments.

Phonological Rule. The formal expression of a regularity in pronunciation, given usually in terms of the contexts of occurrence of the different actual physical variants or *allophones* of the same invariant mental representation of a speech sound, or *phoneme.* "The phoneme /s/ may be pronounced as its allophone [h] in postnuclear position" is a verbalization of the rule of /s/ aspiration.

Phonology. The study of the organization of speech sounds in the sound system of a language.

Plural Marker. A suffix indicating plurality, e.g., *-n* in *tienen.*

Postnuclear. Occurring after the vowel which is the nucleus of a syllable.

Q-Sort. A procedure common to anthropology and ethnomethodology through which the subjects are presented with a series of cards that contain references to people, etc., that they are requested to rank according to a predetermined objective of the research design.

Redundant. Superfluous for communication, e.g., /s/ in *libros* in the phrase *dos libros.*

Retention. The opposite of deletion. In the pronunciation [és] for *es*, /s/ has been retained.

Rhotacism. The occurrence of [r] in place of some other speech sound, e.g., in Spanish the pronunciation of /l/ as [r], [*piér*] for *piel.*

Segment. In phonology, a speech sound (from the fact that speakers segment the speech continuum into discrete elements).

Speech Community. A population that shares patterns of language use that differ from those of other communities. The focus of sociolinguistic investigations.

Spirantization. The pronunciation of a given phoneme as its spirant or fricative version, e.g., /b/ is spirantized between vowels in Spanish and pronounced [ƀ].

Supraglottal. Designating a speech sound produced above the glottis, e.g., in the mouth.

Systematic. In theoretical phonology, a synonym for underlying. Systematic representations are the same as underlying representations.

Underlying Representation. The invariant mental representation that speakers have of the lexical elements (words and morphemes) of their language, which are assumed to consist of phonemes, e.g., the underlying representation of *los* is [los], even when pronounced [loh] or [lo] provided the speaker pronounces the word as [los] sometimes.

Variable Rule. A rule that does not apply automatically even when its appropriate phonetic context is given. Its application depends instead on the speech and degree of precision with which the speaker pronounces, which may be influenced in turn by various extralinguistic factors, be they physical, sociological, psychological, etc.

Variability Theory. A model for description and explanation of language change in which variation in speech is explained by a series of factors (called constraints) which may be linguistic, stylistic, or sociological in nature. Mostly associated with William Labov, professor of linguistics at the University of Pennsylvania.

Velarize. To pronounce a consonant with the dorsum of the tongue retracted toward the soft palate or velum, e.g., in the pronunciation of the [ɫ] in English *table.*

Weakening. The pronunciation of a less tense version of a given sound, usually involving simpler articulatory motions.